

# Wagon Tracks

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Volume 23

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Article 1

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2009

## Wagon Tracks. Volume 23, Issue 1 (November, 2008)

Santa Fe Trail Association

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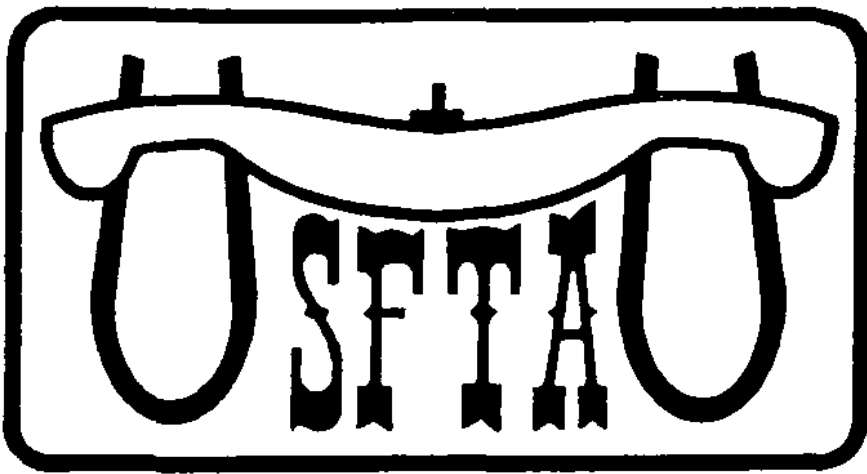
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# WAGON TRACKS

**SANTA FE TRAIL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY**

VOLUME 23

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NUMBER 1

## GRAND RENDEZVOUS 2008

Rendezvous 2008 was a resounding success, thanks to the hard work of Ruth Olson Peters and the staffs at the Santa Fe Trail Center, Fort Larned NHS, and the SFTA. A grant from the Kansas Humanities Council helped fund the speakers. Total attendance was 188 from 10 states.

The theme, "Evolution of Freight-ing on the Santa Fe Trail," was well received, and the papers of all the speakers will be published in *Wagon Tracks*, beginning with this issue. The living-history programs at Fort Larned NHS were outstanding. The meals were delicious. Altogether, it was a grand Rendezvous.

## SFTA HALL OF FAME INDUCTS FIVE TRAIL PERSONALITIES

THE SFTA Hall of Fame has inducted its first historical Trail personalities. The induction ceremony was held September 19 at Rendezvous 2008. William Becknell headed the list of those honored, followed by Pedro Ignacio Gallego, Kit Carson, William Bent, and William R. Gordon.

Becknell was named for his role as "Father of the Santa Fe Trail." Gallego was the Spanish military officer who first encountered Becknell near Las Vegas, NM, in 1821 and had him escorted to Santa Fe. Kit Carson, of course, personified the frontier and frontier life for many Americans in the 19th Century. William Bent was a central figure in trade along the Trail and in interaction with Plains Indians at the western end of the Trail. William R. Gordon was an Irish immigrant who served with the U.S. Army at posts along the Trail and later drove mules from New Mexico to Missouri; he represents the thousands of enlisted men who traversed the Trail in service to the United States.

In remarks made at the induction ceremony, Mike Olsen, Hall of Fame

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**SFTA SYMPOSIUM  
ARROW ROCK, MISSOURI  
SEPTEMBER 24-27, 2009**

## INEZ ROSS AS MARION RUSSELL

MARION Sloan Russell (1845-1936) made several wagon trips on the Santa Fe Trail during her lifetime, the first when she was seven years old. When she was an old woman she dictated her memoirs to her daughter-in-law, and the resulting book *Land of Enchantment* is considered one of the finest accounts of pioneer life in the Southwest and a classic of Trail literature.

SFTA member Inez Ross was invited to give her dramatic rendition of Marion for the dinner program at the Morton County Museum in Elkhart, Kansas, on September 4. Inez chose the story of Marion's trip eastward when she was 11 years old, acting out the story of Marion's mother defying the wagon masters who refused to move from camp at Diamond Springs.

Leaving brother Will to guard their wagon, Marion and her mother walked the 16 miles to Council Grove in one day. Inez herself, along with four other women, has hiked the entire Trail on the Cimarron Route, over a period of eight years. Their trek generated the book *Without a Wagon*, containing the stories, songs,

(continued on page 5)



Inez Ross as Marion Russell at the Morton County Museum, Elkhart, Kansas.



## LARRY JUSTICE NEW SFTA DIRECTOR FROM OKLAHOMA

LARRY Justice, Alva, OK, was selected by the SFTA board to fill the vacancy for Oklahoma director created by the resignation of Sara Jane Richter. The SFTA thanks Richter for her many years of service and welcomes Justice to the board. He was seated as director at the September 18 meeting.

Justice, a member of SFTA since 1992, has served as campus minister and director of the Baptist Student Union at Northwestern Oklahoma State University since 1978. He teaches classes in speech, philosophy, and ethics. He had the following to say about his interest in the Trail.

"Each year, as a campus minister, I take students to Glorieta Conference Center in New Mexico. As a result, my fascination and study of the events surrounding Glorieta Pass before, during, and after the Civil War has allowed me and my students to better understand our rich heritage.

"Being elected to serve as a member of the SFTA Board is an extreme honor I do not take passively. I believe a strong emphasis upon membership growth should be a priority for the protection of the Trail and for the education of all ages regarding the impact the Trail had upon the development of this area of the United States."

## PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

**W**HAT an exciting and educational Rendezvous we just had! The speakers and demonstrations were fantastic, the food was great, it was good to see old friends and make new ones, and the weather was even cooperative. Each Rendezvous just seems to get better and better, so thanks to all those who made this one possible.

Before the Rendezvous began, the Santa Fe Trail Association governing board met. As projected, SFTA committees have been busy and several had extensive reports to give to the board.

The education committee has received a challenge cost-share grant from the National Park Service for their new Santa Fe Trail Wagon Master Program. The objective of this project is to develop four age-appropriate educational activity booklets to be distributed at sites throughout the length of the Santa Fe Trail. The goal is to promote the Santa Fe Trail by encouraging families to become more knowledgeable about the Trail and actively study the Trail's historic sites. Participants who complete a specific number of activities will be rewarded with a Wagon Master badge appropriate to the level achieved.

The finance committee put together suggestions for financial strategies for the SFTA, requesting input from the board in preparation for approval of a financial strategy at the next board meeting.

The Kiosk Task Force was pleased to announce that the Gardner Junction project will be officially finished with the fall planting of native grasses and flowers. In addition, they identified the rut site located west of Dodge City on U.S. 50 as the next kiosk site. A meeting was held on September 17 to make preliminary plans and decide how to proceed. It is our goal to have this site completed by Symposium 2011, which will be held in Dodge City. In addition, other sites being considered at this time, and information being collected on, include the roadside park on US 24 & Blue Mills Road east of Independence, MO, and a site in McPherson, KS.

Mapping/Marking Chair Jeff Trotman reported on his trip to the preservation workshop held in Phoenix,

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<<http://www.santafetrail.org>>

AZ, last May. He is making plans to conduct a workshop for SFTA chapters to pass along the information he learned. He also reported that SFTA Manager Harry Myers and Preservation Chair Faye Gaines met with members of the Bent's Fort Chapter in regards to mapping and recording Santa Fe Trail-related sites and segments, including military routes, in Colorado that are threatened by the proposed U.S. Army takeover of the land (Piñon Canyon). Recording of these sites will be done at the level that they can be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

Linda Colle, Membership Chair, gave an excellent report that included a breakdown of SFTA memberships. The committee is also looking at a new membership strategy/marketing plan to increase membership.

Mike Olsen, chair of the SFTA Policy and Procedures Committee, was happy to report that the SFTA Policy and Procedure Handbook has been completed. In addition to the SFTA's policies and procedures as established and developed by the governing board and at general membership meetings since the inception of the SFTA, the Handbook includes a listing of additional actions taken by the board. Copies of the Handbook on computer disk were handed out to all board members, chapter presidents, and SFTA staff. Mike reminded us that revision of the Handbook will be ongoing and updates will be provided as needed. In addition, he noted that the Hand-

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### Membership Categories

Life	\$1,000
Patron	\$100/year
Business	\$50/year
Nonprofit Institution	\$40/year
Family	\$30/year
Individual	\$25/year
Youth (18 & under)	\$15/year

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book on CD is “keyword searchable,” which enhances its usefulness. It should be noted that we referred to this Handbook several time during the meeting—it is fulfilling its intended purpose. SFTA owes a big thank-you to Mike Olsen for all his hard work in preparing this Handbook.

The Preservation Committee reported they have been in contact with proposed wind farms that are looking at sites close to the Santa Fe Trail. They also made a recommendation to the board of a proposed preservation policy which includes guidelines for using the money in the preservation fund.

The Publications Committee recommended that the control and maintenance of the “zebulonpike.org” web site be offered to the Pike National Historic Trail Association. The board approved that recommendation.

SFTA Hall of Fame Committee reported that five individuals will be inducted during Rendezvous 2008: William Becknell, William Bent, Christopher (Kit) Carson, Pedro Ignacio Gallego, and William Gordon.

The Scholarly Research Committee made three awards in 2008. Awards were given to Maryellen McVicker of Boonville, MO; Doyle Daves of Las Vegas, NM; and Pat Traffas of Merriam, KS. Their proposals were summarized in the May 2008 issue of *Wagon Tracks*. The total amount awarded was \$2,850, which completely depletes SFTA’s Scholarly Research Fund. The Board agreed that the Scholarly Research Fund is important and helps bring forth new research on Santa Fe Trail topics. With that in mind, it was decided to continue this program.

Andrea Sharon, NPS Interpretive Specialist, gave a presentation on the Rediscovery Project and informed the board on the progress being made. I reported that a new Cooperative Agreement with the National Park Service has been completed. The National Park Service has been delegated overall administrative responsibility for the Santa Fe National Historic Trail. The NPS recognizes the Santa Fe Trail Association as its primary private-sector partner in the effort to operate, develop, and/or maintain the Trail.

This agreement will be in affect until 2013. It is through this cooperative agreement with the NPS that SFTA receives funding for many of our projects, as well as for our Association Manager’s salary.

With the cooperative agreements in place with the NPS, several projects have been completed through the use of Challenge Cost-Share funding. Two new projects have been added for 2008 through this program: The Wagon Master program through SFTA’s Education Committee and Conserving the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Markers in Kansas, applied for by the Kansas DAR.

During the next year, the SFTA and the NPS hope to increase the awareness about the Challenge Cost-Share program. Information about past projects, as well as help with understanding the process will be made available. SFTA Vice-President John Atkinson will be putting together a program about CCS and offering to present it to the chapters.

The SFTA, through our partnership with the NPS, will be administering funds for the Trails to Parks Project. This includes building kiosks relating to the Santa Fe Trail at Fort Larned, Bent’s Fort, Fort Union, and Pecos Pueblo. The amount funded for this project is \$37,747 and is reflected in SFTA’s budget. An additional project awarded under this funding includes Fort Union wayside exhibits, with pullouts and interpretation as you enter the site. Funds for this project will be handled by another organization.

Under our cooperative agreements with NPS, we have been approved \$40,000 to be used in a Cooperative Trail Marking project. At present, we are taking applications on a first come/first served basis. However, as more applications are being received, it has become apparent that we need to have a task force in place to determine how the Cooperative Trail Marking Funds are distributed. What priorities do we have—new signs, replacing/repairing old signs, how is the amount of money awarded determined, etc. I have asked for input from the following: Association Manager Harry Myers, Kiosk Task Force Chair John Atkinson, and Mapping/Marking Chair Jeff Trotman. In the future, we may

need to add others to consult on projects, such as interested locals, NPS interpretive specialists, and others. The following projects are currently in line to receive funding: Cottonwood Crossing Chapter—Marion County signage; Bent’s Fort Chapter—County signage; Quivira Chapter—SFT crosses here; Heart of the Flint Hills Chapter—County signage; Corazón Chapter—Replace SFT Xing signs; Wayne City Landing—directional signage to LaFarge wayside exhibits; Douglas County Chapter—SFT Crosses Here signs; and MRO—County signage. Also being considered are the KDOT Auto Tour Route sign replacement and the replacement of deteriorated wayside exhibits where the templates for the original exists and replacement can easily be made, such as in Council Grove.

In addition to the many committee reports, we heard from chapters about their activities. The SFTA chapters continue to have great programs, and they are always seeking new members.

—Joanne VanCoevern

## MANAGER’S REPORT

**I**F you missed Rendezvous this year, you missed a good one. Not only were the sessions excellent but the board meeting and the chapter presidents’ meeting were good and productive.

Joanne is giving you an overview of the board meeting and I want to give you an overview of the chapter presidents’ meeting. We had good attendance with most of the chapters represented. Interest was shown in all of our topics, especially with our new initiatives.

We first spoke about setting chapter meeting dates for the year by say January so that the dates can be put up on the website. It was noted that there is a good opportunity for neighboring chapters and chapters in an area to coordinate in setting their dates to lessen conflicts and allow other chapter visits.

SFTA has a new National Park Service (NPS) grant for “Santa Fe Trail Crosses Here” (and others) signs along county/township/city roads. SFTA is working on proce-

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ASSOCIATION IN YOUR WILL

dures we will follow with the NPS on this project. Once those procedures are in place we will let all the chapters know. This is an exciting opportunity to make the Trail more visible in all our chapters. And all chapters should be aware that each chapter can apply for a grant from the SFTA marker fund up to \$1000 each year for markers for the Trail, such as the limestone post markers used by the Wet/Dry Routes and MRO chapters. And David Clapsaddle offered to assist any chapter with information about how they have gone about marking the Trail and in the acquisition of the limestone posts, a valuable and generous offer.

NPS challenge cost-share projects (CCSP) were discussed. The NPS and Sharon Brown are there to assist you in getting a good CCSP. Don't hesitate to contact me or them to discuss any project you might have in mind. This is a valuable partnership program between NPS and SFTA. On our part, volunteer hours, local grants, chapter funds, labor and items from other entities, and mileage costs are valid matches to the NPS funds. SFTA Vice President John Atkinson will provide further information on CCSP in his chapter visits this year.

Each chapter can apply for a Speakers Bureau grant of \$250.00 each year. This is a great chance to get a good speaker and pay for their travel and an honorarium. The applications and speakers' biographies are on the SFTA website ([www.santafetrail.org](http://www.santafetrail.org)) under "Members Toolbox." Additionally, you can get the SFTA Manager (me) to visit your chapter and speak for free in addition to getting a Speakers Bureau grant.

There are threats to the SFT in each state. Wind farms, pipelines, oil and gas developments, military base expansion, and endangered structures are issues that are going on right now. The SFTA strategy is to get as many sites and segments of the Trail on state cultural registers and also nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. This should be a goal for all of us. We are working on pilot projects in Colorado and New Mexico to get this going. We will keep you informed. In the meantime please let our Preservation Officer, Faye Gaines, and myself know of

any threats in your area.

And all of you keep up the great work of the SFTA. We are indeed preserving and interpreting the Santa Fe Trail!

—Harry C. Myers

## PARTNERSHIP FOR NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM REPORT

by Ross Marshall

*[Former SFTA President and SFTA Ambassador Marshall is SFTA representative to and president of the PNTS.]*

### 40th Anniversary of NTSA:

On October 2, I was able to attend and participate in an event at the Smithsonian in Washington D.C. in commemoration of the passage of the National Trails System Act 40 years ago on October 2, 1968, which created the National Trails System. The Santa Fe National Historic Trail is one of the 26 trails in the NTS.

The well-attended event included a smashing 45-minute power point photographic presentation of all eight of the National Scenic Trails in the NTS. Also included were brief addresses by about a half-dozen key agency and nonprofit leaders, concluded by a few remarks by myself.

Gary Werner, the Partnership's Executive Director was also present and we were able to meet with several key groups over the following two days.

The event also served as a kickoff for the Decade for the National Trails leading up to the 50th Anniversary in 10 years. The Partnership has formulated the following goals for the Decade that will provide opportunities for all the trails to enhance or "complete" their trails, which includes the Santa Fe Trail. The goals are as follows:

**GOAL 1: Increase public awareness of the National Trails System and its component trails so that it becomes well known to every citizen and community in the United States.**

**Objective A:** Develop and implement educational and interpretive media to increase public appreciation, use, and enjoyment of the National Trails.

**Objective B:** Engage all Americans, especially youth, "Baby Boom" retirees, and people from our nation's diverse cultures, to become stewards of

the National Scenic, Historic, and Recreation Trails.

**Objective C:** Provide an opportunity for every American and U.S visitor to explore and enjoy a National Scenic, Historic, Recreation or "rail banked" Trail.

**GOAL 2: Complete and enhance the designated National Trails for public appreciation and enjoyment.**

**Objective A:** Complete inventories of the natural and cultural resources, route mapping, identification, and signage appropriate for the National Scenic, Historic, and Recreation Trails.

**Objective B:** Delineate, acquire, and protect gaps in rights-of-way and resource preservation corridors of National Scenic Trails and preserve unprotected and threatened significant sites and segments along National Historic Trails.

**Objective C:** Delineate preservation corridors to permanently protect the resources and quality of visitor experiences along National Scenic and Historic Trails on public lands and waters.

**Objective D:** Complete construction of National Scenic Trails and on-site interpretation along these and National Historic Trails and where appropriate restore the setting of significant sites and segments of National Historic Trails to their historic period.

**GOAL 3: Build the capacity of the organizations and Federal agencies involved to better administer, manage, and sustain National Scenic, Historic, and Recreation Trails.**

**Objective A:** Secure consistent optimal budget support for the National Trails System and for all the National Trails administered and managed by each Federal agency.

**Objective B:** Secure the consistent, reliable optimal financial and human capacity of the Partnership for the National Trails System and individual trail organizations sustaining the National Scenic and Historic Trails and of American Trails and other organizations that support and promote National Recreation Trails.

**Objective C:** Secure any additional necessary authorities and increase Federal staffing to provide optimal collaborative administration and management of the National Scenic, Historic, and Recreation Trails.



**Objective D:** Provide at least one million volunteer hours annually to help sustain the National Scenic and Historic Trails.

#### Volunteer hours and donations

As chapter presidents, committees, officers, and board, please continue to compile totals of your time and dollar donations for this year. I will be looking forward to receiving those totals next January from each of you.

### CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

by Margaret Sears

[Former SFTA President and SFTA Ambassador Sears is chair of the nominating committee.]

SFTA elections will soon be upon us, so it is time to consider putting your hat in the ring, or perhaps a fellow member's. The 2009 Nominating Committee (Margaret Sears, chair, and members Faye Gaines, Mary Honeyman, and Ross Marshall) is issuing a call for nominations. Chapters and individual members are urged to submit nominations for openings on SFTA's governing board. These positions are: president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, one director from each Trail state (Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Texas, New Mexico), and an at-large director.

Any SFTA member may submit his/her name or other members as a candidate for any office listed above. Chapters are also encouraged to offer candidates, particularly for the director position in their respective states. Each nominee must agree in writing to serve if elected.

Current officers eligible and willing to run for another term are: President Joanne VanCoevern, Secretary Marcia Fox, Treasurer Ruth Peters, and Directors Mike Dickey (Missouri), Larry Justice (Oklahoma), LaDonna Hutton (Colorado), René Harris (New Mexico), Clint Chambers (Texas), and Roberta Falkner (At-Large). The vice president and Kansas director positions will be open.

Full details will appear in February 2009 *Wagon Tracks*, which gives you ample time to survey your chapter for viable candidates. Also, don't forget to look in your mirror! SFTA bylaws state: "If possible, there shall

be at least two nominees for each position." SFTA is an organization committed to democratic principles. Contested elections are democratic. Unopposed elections are not. Please start thinking about possible candidates for the board.

### NEWSPAPER SERIES

**T**HE Great Bend, Kansas, *Tribune* has initiated a semimonthly feature related to the Santa Fe Trail. Written by David Clapsaddle, president of the Wet/Dry Routes Chapter, the series titled "Trail Dust" highlights the opening of the Trail in 1821 and its subsequent development through 1880.

The series is largely due to Jerry Buxton's interest in the Santa Fe Trail. Buxton, a *Tribune* reporter, has given chapter activities an inordinate amount of coverage in the past few years. He was recognized by the chapter with a life membership.

Clapsaddle is also the author of another series recently introduced in the *Larned Tiller and Toiler*. In recognition of the upcoming 150th anniversary of Fort Larned's founding, he writes a weekly article related to the post's 1859 establishment and its development through 1878. The series is titled "Morning Drill."

### SIBLEY CAMPSITE UPDATE

**S**IBLEY Camp, the historical site in Larned which is devoted to the 1825 campsite of the U. S. Santa Fe Trail Survey team remains a work in progress. At this writing, plans are underway for a demolition company to remove the remains of an old residence which occupied the location. Long an eyesore and safety hazard, removal of this structure will vastly improve the appearance of the site.

The fine sandstone blocks in the building will go to the Fort Larned National Historic Site to be used in future restoration efforts. Following the demolition work, a landscape project will be initiated, planting the area to buffalo grass.

### ROSS AS MARION RUSSELL

(continued from page 1)

and poems the group composed along the way. Ross led the audience in a singalong of their Trail Song at the end of the program.

A second book by Ross, *Perilous Pursuit on the Santa Fe Trail*, is a modern novel told as a pastiche of a Sherlock Holmes adventure. Both of Ross's books, as well as Russell's *Land of Enchantment*, are available from Last Chance Store.

### HALL OF FAME

(continued from page 1)

Committee chair, noted, "The Hall of Fame of the Santa Fe Trail Association honors those men and women who were significant in the history and heritage of the Santa Fe Trail. Their contributions range from days long before the Trail opened as a commercial link between Missouri and Santa Fe in 1821 to the close of the Trail in 1880. Whatever their station in life, their nationality or background, or their own story, each of these, our ancestors, played a role in the development of the community and time we have inherited. We dedicate these tributes to their memory."

More names will be added to the Hall of Fame at the SFTA Symposium next September in Arrow Rock, Missouri. Any member of the SFTA may nominate someone to be considered for the Hall of Fame. For nomination procedures, check recent issues of *Wagon Tracks* or contact Mike Olsen at 5643 Sonnet Heights, Colorado Springs, CO 80918, e-mail <mpolsen1@comcast.net>. The nomination format will also be published in the February 2009 issue of *Wagon Tracks*.



### CONVERSE OF THE PRAIRIES -BOOK NOTICES-

Steve Glassman, *It Happened on the Santa Fe Trail*. Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2008. Pp. x + 181. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. Paper, \$12.95 + shipping. Available from Last Chance Store.

This compilation of 29 Trail stories is based on the latest scholarship, is very accurate historically, and each story is well told and easy to read. The introduction provides a good overview of Trail history, and the episodes are tied to the larger picture.

Topics included are Juan de Oñate (1601), Nathan Boone (1804, including Booneslick and the Booneslick Trace), Auguste Pierre Chouteau (1817, prisoner in Santa Fe), William Becknell (1821), George Sibley (1825), Jedediah Smith (1831), Bill Williams (1836), Antonio José Chávez (1843), Francis Parkman (1846), Susan Shelby Magoffin (1846), Lewis Garrard (1847), Dr. John Sappington (1849), Dr. Michael Steck (1852), Satank (1860), Bloody Bill Anderson (1862), Lydia Spencer Lane, Edward W. Wynkoop (1864), Kit Carson at Adobe Walls (1864), John M. Chivington and Sand Creek Massacre (1864), Franz Huning (1867), Johnny Roenigk (1869, railroad story), Lucien Maxwell (1870), Bat Masterson (1874), Uncle Dick Wootton (1880), Charley Parker (1899), Cimarron River Flood (1914), Kansas City Union Station Massacre (1933), La Fonda (1968), and the final chapter, "The Santa Fe Trail Lives On," commemorates Marc Simmons's rousing keynote address at the first symposium and gives recognition to the SFTA (of which Glassman is a member). There is a section of Trail Trivia at the end.

Each episode will appeal to readers of all ages, and the stories will cause anyone with a modicum of curiosity to want to know more (the 9-page bibliography provides direction). That is the sign of a good introductory Trail book. This collection is highly recommended to anyone interested in Trail stories.

## TRAIL TROUBADOUR

### —Traffic in Verse—

Sandra M. Doe, Editor

This column seeks poetry which addresses the history, realism, romance, and diversity of the Trail and demonstrates authentic emotion, original images, and skill in craftsmanship. Please submit poems for consideration to Sandra M. Doe, Dept. of English, Campus Box 32, Metropolitan State College of Denver, PO Box 173362, Denver CO 80217-3362.

This poem, supplied by Mark L. Gardner, appeared in *Current Literature*, Vol. XLII (No. 6), June 1907. It is reprinted from the *Kansas City Journal* without the name of the author. To this editor's eye, it presents a confused and romantic idea of

the Trail, a sentimental and misinformed configuration. The Little river in the second stanza refers to the Little Arkansas River. The location of Camp Theresa is unknown.

### The Santa Fe Trail

—author unknown

The trail is nearly lost. Alas!  
Amid the wheat and corn and grass  
And fields by hedge divided,  
The hand of green across it runs  
And sweeps away the mark that once  
The settler's wagon guided.

It plowed a furrow wide and deep  
In Little river's winding steep  
Down where the stream was forded.  
Not far away is Stone Corral  
Whose ruins many a tale can tell  
Of history unrecorded.

It passed before our cabin door,  
Then onward to the west it bore  
O'er plain and hill and mesa;  
Around the bare and rocky steep  
Into the canyon dark and deep  
By lonely Camp Theresa.

O'er cactus field and withered sage  
Where fiercely blinding blizzards rage  
Its course is rougher, bleaker,  
The whitening bones around it gleam,  
It tells of many a shattered dream  
And dying fortune-seeker.

To us, poor exiles on the plain,  
It was the one connecting chain  
With Eastern friends and kindred;  
With longing eyes we saw the track  
And gladly would have wandered  
back,  
But stern-faced duty hindered.

The oxen bound for Santa Fe  
Came patiently upon their way  
With wagon heavy freighted;  
They passed the cabin poor and lone  
And broke the dreary monotone  
Of those who toiled and waited.

The Indian swept upon his raid  
And yonder where the bison strayed  
We saw the blizzards hover.  
Sometimes a schooner hurried by  
With little children gathered shy  
Beneath the wagon cover.

The sunburnt one who held the reins  
Looked eagerly upon the plains,  
A mystery round them clinging;  
They stretched around him parched  
and hot,  
Without a single garden spot  
Wherein a bird was singing.

But O! the men with plow and hoe—  
They won—see how the prairies grow,  
The fields of richest splendor.

How beautiful the future gleams;  
Gone is the time of great extremes;  
The crops are springing greenly.  
No scorching wind, no wilderness,  
The church among the cottages

Points heavenward serenely.

O deep worn Trail of Santa Fe!  
You speak of those who passed away  
Without the glorious vision;  
Who shared the suffering and the toil,  
The noon-day heat and ceaseless  
moil,  
But never the fruition.

Tell of the victories they won,  
The heroes who are dead or gone,  
Tell of the hard privations.  
As soft and low as vesper chimes  
Tell of the early Kansas times  
To coming generations.



## HOOF PRINTS —TRAIL TIDBITS—

Visitors to the Zebulon Pike Plaza at Larned, Kansas, may recall that adjacent to the site was an expanse of pavement, the residue of a laundry building long since razed. The Wet/Dry Routes Chapter is pleased to report that the City of Larned is in the process of removing the concrete and plans to landscape the area in keeping with the nearby city park area.

The "Living Links" column awaits information. Dr. Alice Anne Thompson needs to hear from any members with Trail connections: <aatwest@comcast.net>.

Everyone is invited to the Cimarron Heritage Center, Boise City, OK, 7 p.m., November 11, for a special program by Mark Calvin: "First-Person Reenactment of a Civil War Veteran."

Keep track of the commemorative reenactment of the march of the Mormon Battalion during the War with Mexico, 1846-1847, at <www.Battaliontrek.com>. Denny and Kevin Henson attended the Rendezvous at Larned.

The SFTA Last Chance Store has its own web site and may be accessed through the SFTA web site or at <www.lastchancestore.org>.

The Battle of Westport Museum was dedicated October 18 at 6601 Swope Parkway in Kansas City, commemorating the largest Civil War battle west of the Mississippi, fought October 21-23, 1864.



# AS THE WHEEL TURNS: THE EVOLUTION OF FREIGHTING ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, AN INTRODUCTION

by Harry C. Myers

[SFTA Manager Myers provided the introduction for the Rendezvous program, and each of the presentations will follow in the order given, three in this issue and three in the next issue. Special thanks to all the speakers for sharing their work for publication.]

THE theme of the 2008 Rendezvous is the Evolution of Freighting on the Santa Fe Trail. The theme is broken into four time periods: 1821-1846, 1846-1848, 1848-1866, and 1866-1880. Also addressed will be Hispanic traders throughout the entire Trail period.

The evolution of freighting is an appropriate topic for all aspects of the Trail were ever changing. The 1821 starting point of the Trail was Franklin, MO, but quickly moved west as settlement and travel on the Missouri River developed. Independence, Kansas Landing, and Westport, MO, all served as trailheads concurrently as did Franklin until the Missouri River eroded away the town. The destination was nominally Santa Fe in the nation of Mexico. That destination held for about three years until this little provincial village was saturated with goods, mainly cloth, from Missouri. Then the trade moved on down into Mexico to such places as the states of Sonora and Sinaloa, and the cities and towns of Chihuahua, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, and San Juan de los Lagos. And the trade went truly intercontinental when Mexican merchants and traders traveled to New York, London, and Paris for goods to carry along the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe and on down into Mexico.

Robert Duffus, in his book *The Santa Fe Trail* published in 1930, gave a wonderful characterization of the changing Santa Fe Trail:

"The Trail had . . . several successive starting points. In Johnson County, Kansas, nearly all the resulting branches joined. Yet the main Trail, though it was definite enough, was never so exact as it would have had to be in a country with fences. It might shift a considerable distance to one side or the other according to the wetness or dryness of the season or the friendliness or



"Arrival of the Caravan at Santa Fé," Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844.

unfriendliness of the Indians. Ingenious travellers, or very foolish travellers, were continually experimenting with cut offs, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The Trail had never the rigidity of a railroad or a modern automobile highway. It was a living thing, which changed and wandered and grew. It was not names upon a map it was people; people travelling, singing, swearing, sweating, fearing, fighting, going in clouds of dust by day, plowing through quicksand and mud, sitting around great fires at night, hunters, trappers, traders, soldiers, emigrants, of all degrees of intelligence, virtue, and vice, of most races, bound together only by a common hardihood and a common exposure to the vastness and desolation and beauty of the trans Missouri wilderness. It is a fabulous procession. When we point to a signpost and read the faded inscription we see letters that burned into men's memories like unquenchable flame."<sup>1</sup>

In 1846 tensions between the United States and Mexico boiled over and the United States declared war on Mexico. President James K. Polk's expansionist platform and the idea of Manifest Destiny had no little part of the invasion of the Southwest by the United States. Colonel of the First Dragoons, Stephen Watts Kearny at Fort Leavenworth, was ordered to assemble an invasion force and capture Santa Fe and then California. In the late summer of 1846 the so-called "Army of the West" marched down the Santa Fe Trail via Bent's Fort to a successful capture of

Santa Fe in August of 1846.

The resulting occupation of the Southwest called for a continual line of goods from the states to supply the troops in New Mexico. Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River was the destination of goods carried up the Missouri River on steamboats. The supplies were then loaded on army wagons and conducted along the Trail by army wagonmasters to the Southwest. Francis Parkman, returning from a trip on the Oregon Trail by way of Bent's Fort, encountered one of these military trains:

"On the next afternoon, as we moved along the bank of the river, we saw the white tops of wagons on the horizon. It was some hours before we met them, when they proved to be a train of clumsy ox wagons, quite different from the rakish vehicles of the Santa Fe traders, and loaded with government stores for the troops. They all stopped, and the drivers gathered around us in a crowd. I thought that the whole frontier might have been ransacked in vain to furnish men worse fitted to meet the dangers of the prairie. Many of them were mere boys, fresh from the plow, and devoid of knowledge and experience."<sup>2</sup>

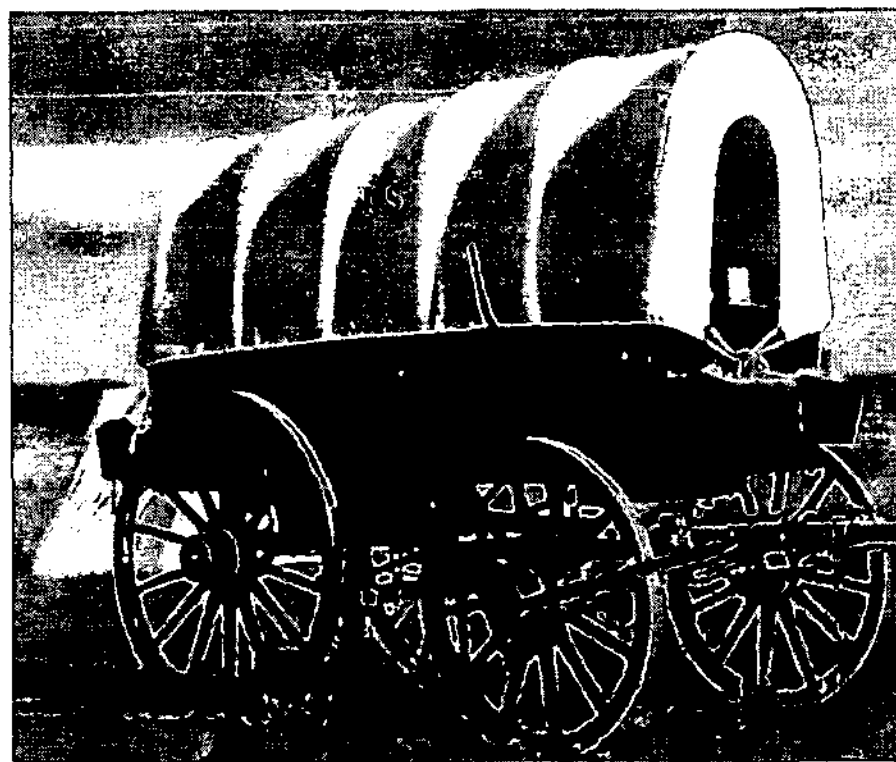
During the summer of 1848 Lieutenant Colonel William Gilpin at Fort Mann near present day Dodge City noted that 3,000 wagons, 12,000 persons, and 50,000 head of stock had passed his post that year. The Santa Fe Trail had become big business with military freighting moving the lion's share of goods on the Trail.



This period saw the first major use and then the establishment of the Mountain Route of the Trail. The Army of the West in 1846 traveled this way, using Bent's Fort as a way-stop. The military freighters also used Bent's Fort as a transfer point where goods from the states would be unloaded and then reloaded on trains to be taken to New Mexico. And many of those wagons were the army six-mule wagon with a capacity of 2500 pounds that had long been in use and would continue as a mainstay for the army until the last part of the 19th century.

Traders from New Mexico and Old Mexico were involved in the Trail almost from the very start. An 1826 letter refers to a Baca and implies that he had been in Franklin and Booneville in 1825. And without much doubt New Mexicans were involved earlier in partnership with American traders. By 1843 Hispanic traders probably outnumbered the Anglo traders due to a number of reasons. Manuel Armijo, governor of New Mexico, treated his native New Mexican traders more favorably than the Missouri traders. Traders from the United States too faced taxes on goods they obtained from Europe when they were only passing the goods through to the Southwest. Mexican traders faced no such tax. Captain Philip St. George Cooke, in 1843, taking a census of traders on the Trail in the Dodge City area noted that Mexican traders had 32 wagons and American traders had 24. But the whole dynamics of the trade changed in 1846 with the American invasion and occupation of the Southwest. Hispanic traders and their wagon trains still crossed the plains to Missouri and were involved in New Mexico with the trade. Yet with the end of the Mexican American war and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago, 1848, the character of the trade changed again and brought more goods into New Mexico.

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago the United States bought the Southwest (New Mexico, Arizona, and California) from Mexico and territories were formed. Military posts dotted the map of New Mexico, and the troops occupying those posts needed supplies. New Mexico was still a subsistence economy and any



**U. S. Army Six-Mule Wagon.**

extra supplies or food for the troops had to come from the states. Not satisfied with the inefficient system of supply that had been in place for the war, the quartermasters of the army began to rely on contract freighters to haul their goods. The destination was still the Southwest and the military posts and the departure point remained Fort Leavenworth in Kansas.

In 1851 Fort Union was established in northeastern New Mexico largely as a depot to receive the goods and supplies shipped from the states. Other military posts along the Santa Fe Trail also received goods. Forts Larned, Dodge, Lyon, and Atkinson are good examples of forts along the Trail that were supplied by contract freighters. The Civil War and the forced removal of the Mescalero Apache and Navajo tribes to the Bosque Redondo, 1863-1868, in southeast New Mexico required massive amounts of food for more than 8,000 captive Indians. Much of those supplies and food had to come over the Santa Fe Trail.

Such names as Russell, Majors, and Waddell; Irwin, Jackman and Co.; and Bullard and Co. became well known and in some cases famous as contract freighters. Robert Duffus says of Majors:

"The years 1855 and 1856 were fat ones for Alexander Majors and his new partners, Russell and Waddell. They had 350 wagons, a good many of them in the New Mexican trade, and they cleared in the two years about \$300,000 a neat little pile for men who had formerly walked in the dust beside the oxen."<sup>3</sup>

And Duffus compared the trade with an earlier period:

"Josiah Gregg in 1843 noted that the total trade 'had been \$450,000.'

In 1846, on the eve of the Mexican War, 414 wagons had gone out, carrying \$1,752,250 worth of goods. In 1850 Kansas City alone sent 500 wagon loads. In 1855 the total trade was estimated at \$5,000,000. . . . In 1860 a total of 16,439,000 pounds is said to have been carried, 9084 men were employed, and 6147 mules, 27,920 oxen and 3033 wagons were used."<sup>4</sup>

These contract freighters also brought civilian goods. It was during this period that clothes that were "ready-made" became available in the Southwest. That is shirts and pants being sold already made rather than having to buy the fabric and make them yourself. With the new style of clothing, a new style of transportation was heading west as the Civil War drew to a close.

The Union Pacific Railroad, Eastern Division, began laying rails westward as the Civil War was ending. By 1865 the railroad had reached Lawrence, Kansas. And then in quick succession Topeka and Junction City in 1866, and Ellsworth and Hays, Kansas, in 1867, Sheridan, Kansas, in 1868, and Kit Carson, Colorado Territory, in 1870. The Santa Fe Trail ran south of the rail lines and roads snaked south from the railheads to the Trail. The Fort Hays to Fort Dodge Road is a good example of these feeder routes that carried tremendous amounts of goods from the railheads to their destinations. Soon the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway followed the old Trail to Dodge City and on to Grenada, Colorado Territory, from which point the Grenada to Fort Union Military Road developed. Later the AT&SF built on into New Mexico.

Robert Duffus quoted a view that would soon be scarce in eastern Kansas:

"Just after the Civil War Colonel J. F. Meline 'jumped off,' as the frontier phrase had it, from Leavenworth, which had then attained the considerable size of from twenty to twenty five thousand inhabitants. The freighters were still using this point as their eastern headquarters. 'Returning from town,' Meline says, 'I passed numbers of the ox teams used in freighting to New Mexico. They are remarkable, each wagon team consisting of ten yokes of fine

oxen, selected and arranged not only for drawing but for pictorial effect, in sets of twenty, either all black, all white, all spotted or otherwise marked uniformly."<sup>5</sup>

Duffus continues later with Meline: "At Waumega, thirty miles east of Fort Riley, Kansas, Meline came upon the thing which was to do most to exterminate the wild game and ultimately put an end to the old Trail. He reined in his horse, grey with mud and dust which had never felt the plow, and saw a brand new railhead—depot, eating-houses, trains of cars, and other appliances of railway civilization."<sup>6</sup>

Forwarding and commission houses became the order of the day. Not only did they arrange the shipment of the goods, those goods were stored in their warehouses at the railheads, and the goods were then transshipped in wagons hired by the forwarding and commission houses. Otero, Sellar, and Co. and Chick, Browne and Co. are just two of the many serving this need. By 1879 the rails had surmounted Raton Pass and were laid past Las Vegas, New Mexico Territory. In 1880 the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad reached Lamy, 20 miles south of Santa Fe and the depot for that city. Freight on the Santa Fe Trail over the Great Plains ceased to exist. The railroad brought goods and supplies and some foodstuffs, but it soon also brought tourists and new ideas to the Southwest, and carried different ideas back across the plains which were filling up with homesteaders and farmers who were plowing the ruts of the old Santa Fe Trail as an era was ending.

Duffus salutes those who made their livelihood on the Trail:

"Not for them the black furrow, the fields of wheat and corn, the rude homestead sprouting first a cabin, then a house. Something of the Indian had gotten into them, as it did before their time into the trappers. They were not content to look very long on the same horizon, nor to build their fires too many times in the same place. They were a breed for which the settled and smug civilizations of their day had no occupation. To find their place in the scheme of things they had to leave the nineteenth century behind.



Otero & Sellar, Hays, Kansas.

"What then remains except a narrative, told imperfectly and stumblingly either by men who were too busy to write it or by others who were born too late to live through it? Much, perhaps, if we try to understand the America that exists by understanding a little of the America that has been. The Santa Fe was the first of the great transcontinental trails, for two decades it was the most travelled, in the dramatic contrasts that arose because it linked together two opposing civilizations it never had an equal.

"The Trail was but a single thread in that vast roaring loom on which was woven the fabric of modern America. Yet there it still shines, if we bend to look, like a pattern of untarnishable gold."<sup>7</sup>

Here then follows, the story in more detail told by different chroniclers, of the Evolution of Freight on the Santa Fe Trail. The speakers and topics are:

Michael Olsen, "Do You Know the Way to Santa Fe?—The First 25 Years of Freight on the Santa Fe Trail, 1821-1846"

Leo E. Oliva, "The Army's Attempts at Freight during the Mexican War, 1846-1848"

Susan Calafate Boyle, "Hispano Culture and Transportation"

Craig Crease, "Boom Times for Freight on the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1866"

David K. Clapsaddle, "The End of the Trail: Railroads, Commission Houses, and Independent Freighters, 1866-1880"

#### Notes

1. Robert Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), 90.
2. Francis Parkman, Jr., *The Oregon Trail* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1849), 268.
3. Duffus, 232.
4. *Ibid.*, 244.
5. *Ibid.*, 253.
6. *Ibid.*, 256.
7. *Ibid.*, 272.

## DO YOU KNOW THE WAY TO SANTA FE?—FREIGHTING ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, 1821-1846

by Michael L. Olsen

TO begin today, I am going to make what may seem like an odd request. I want you to think about the clothes you are wearing. As you glance at what you put on this morning—your shirt, blouse, jeans or socks—ask yourself

- What is this made of—a natural fiber like cotton, linen, or wool, or a synthetic such as rayon or nylon? Maybe you even have on that new cloth made of bamboo.

- If it is a natural fiber, where did that fiber come from? Who raised it? How was it harvested? How was it processed? How was it transported from the field to the factory? With synthetic fibers we might ask how the crude oil was piped and then "spun" into cloth.

- After the cloth was made, where did it get sent, and how did it travel? Who sewed it? How did it get from China, India, or Indonesia to your local store?

I raise these questions because at this Rendezvous we are talking about freight on the Santa Fe Trail. My first thoughts when I consider "freighting" are, of course, about wagons, mules and oxen, and teamsters—and those are important aspects. But there are also other topics to consider, especially in the early years of trade on the Trail, the years from 1821-1845. Questions I am going to raise are

- What was the general character of the Santa Fe Trail trade from 1821-1846?

- What information do we have about the trade at this time—what sources can we turn to?

- What was transported?
- How was it transported?
- Who was involved?

- And—as a transition into the next era of freight on the Trail—what was the situation in 1845?

Before proceeding, however, I want to introduce the topic a bit more thoroughly, first by reviewing the production of cloth at the turn of the nineteenth century, second by taking a glance at William Becknell, the "father" of the Santa Fe Trail, and third by defining the word



“freighting.”

On June 14, 1789, a minor member of the British nobility, the Hon. John Byng, was traveling in the English Midlands and stopped to gawk at a new feature in the landscape. He described his experience in his diary:

“Below Matlock a new creation of Sir Richard Arkwright’s is started up, which has crouded [*sic*] the village of Cromford with cottages, supported by his three magnificent cotton mills. ... [H]is greatful [*sic*] country must adore his inventions, which have already so prosper’d our commerce; and may lead to yet wonderful improvements.”

With this visit to Arkwright’s cotton mills, John Byng is “in at the creation” so to speak, in at the beginning of a revolution, a revolution which produced the clothes you are wearing today. This revolution also, in a fundamental way, is the beginning of the Santa Fe trade.<sup>1</sup>

Three inventions around 1800 made cloth cheap and widely available for the first time in human history. These new machines were the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the cotton gin. James Hargreave’s spinning jenny, invented circa 1764, spun raw fiber into thread, replacing the spinning wheel. Richard Arkwright then built the cotton mills where hundreds of spinning jennies operated; eventually one child could tend up to seven spinning jennies, replacing hundreds of women at spinning wheels. The power loom, invented by Edmund Cartwright in 1785, wove this thread into cloth at an astonishing rate. And Eli Whitney’s cotton gin, patented in 1794, insured a cheap supply – based on slave labor in the United States – of cotton fiber. All over the world, even in remote Santa Fe, native producers were displaced and inexpensive cloth flooded the markets.

That brings us to William Becknell. We don’t know exactly what goods Becknell and his compatriots loaded on their packhorses when they left Arrow Rock on September 1, 1821. Becknell said simply that he was going west to trade. Whoever he contemplated trading with, he probably would have taken cloth, since it had been a staple of frontier exchange for generations. After his sec-

ond expedition to Santa Fe in 1822, Becknell did remark in his famous report, printed in the *Missouri Intelligencer* on April 22, 1823, that, “Those who visit the country [New Mexico] for the purpose of vending merchandise will do well to take goods of excellent quality and unfaded color,” clearly a reference to manufactured cloth.

A few years later, with respect to goods taken from Missouri to Santa Fe, Josiah Gregg tells us, “Although a fair variety of dry goods, silks, hardware, etc., is to be found in this market, domestic cottons, both bleached and brown, constitute the great staple....” In direct reference to Becknell’s expeditions, Gregg adds, “[N]otwithstanding the trifling amount of merchandise they were possessed of, they realized a very handsome profit. The fact is, that up to this date New Mexico had derived all her supplies from the Internal Provinces by the way of Vera Cruz; but at such exorbitant rates that common calicoes, and even bleached and brown domestic goods, sold as high as two and three dollars per vara (or Spanish yard of thirty-three inches).” Later in this presentation we shall see that the cotton in some of this cloth very well could have crossed the Atlantic Ocean twice and have floated on the Ohio or Mississippi as well as the Missouri, before it ever was freighted across the prairies.<sup>2</sup>

At this point, and still by way of introduction, it would be productive to define the words “freight” and “freighting.” To do so, we can reference the touchstone of all dictionaries, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*), which has two large pages – that is four columns of very, very small print – devoted to the topic.

As a noun, “freight” in the *OED* has no less than five principal definitions. The first is interesting in light of the Santa Fe trade in that it reads, “Hire of a vessel for the transport of goods (originally by water; now extended, esp. in the U.S., to land transit).” As we know, travelers on the Santa Fe Trail often likened the prairies to the ocean and the white-topped wagons to ships setting sail – as with Matt Field in 1839 who wrote, “Like the ocean, ever like the ocean, and only like the ocean is the

far stretching wilderness of grass.” Another definition in the *OED* indicates that the noun, “freight” can be combined with various other nouns to denote the means of transportation, as with freight engine, freight train, and – freight wagon.<sup>3</sup>

As a verb, “to freight,” and hence as a participle, “freighting,” we find two definitions: “To furnish or load (a vessel) with a cargo; to hire or let out (a vessel) for the carriage of goods or passengers,” and “To carry or transport goods as freight.” In this instance, the *OED* gives as the earliest example of this useage – again ringing down through the centuries to the Santa Fe Trail – a reference from 1540 in the laws of Henry VIII regarding the transport of “brode wollen cloth” to Denmark.<sup>4</sup>

And finally, in one additional digression on the use of the terms freight and freighting, it is interesting to peer into Josiah Gregg’s *Commerce of the Prairies* to see how many times he used these words. We find nine instances, ranging from his description of how to load mules – he says that, “In this way freights are carried from point to point,” to his observation on the return trip of caravans from Santa Fe to Missouri that, “The amount of freight . . . from that direction is very small,” to three uses in the notes to his famous table detailing the volume of trade from 1822 to 1843. Two of these notes refer to the cost of “freights” from the east to Independence and from Santa Fe to Chihuahua, and he also comments, “Instead of purchasing outfit, some traders prefer employing freighters. . . .”<sup>5</sup>

It is Gregg, of course, who also provides us with our most intimate and personal primary account of the Santa Fe trade in its first quarter-century. By adding other sources, we have long had a relatively good understanding of the broad outlines of the trade. With these sources we can now turn to an overview of the Santa Fe trade from 1821 to 1846.

We honor William Becknell as the “father” of the Santa Fe Trail because he opened the enduring commercial link between Missouri and New Mexico, but he was not the first person to take trade goods to Santa Fe. He also had the long tradition of the fur trade as a guide on what to take and how to get it there, though



he was the first to use wagons.

Some of the important voyagers who crossed the prairies before Becknell were the Mallet brothers, Baptiste La Lande, Auguste P. Chouteau, Jules De Munn, and Joseph Philibert. Paul and Peter Mallet and six companions set out to trade in Santa Fe in 1739. They went up the Missouri and into what is now central Nebraska, realized they were too far north, headed south through Kansas and Colorado and reached the New Mexico capital on July 22. They returned east via the Canadian and Arkansas rivers, then descended the Mississippi and eventually arrived in New Orleans.<sup>6</sup>

Baptiste La Lande's story is well known, especially since he had extensive contact with Zebulon Pike in 1807 during Pike's sojourn in Santa Fe. An Illinois merchant, William Morrison, sent La Lande to Santa Fe explicitly to trade in 1804. La Lande got there, sold his trade goods and then decided – or was persuaded – to stay in New Mexico. Pike tried to recover Morrison's investment but returned empty handed. But Pike's journal, published in 1810, mentioned his meetings with La Lande and hence a wide audience came to realize that Santa Fe could be reached and that there were opportunities for trade.

Sorting out the activities of Chouteau, De Munn, and Philibert from 1815 to 1817 is confusing but instructive when considering the future of the Santa Fe trade and freighting on the Trail. Chouteau and De Munn formed a partnership to trap and trade on the upper Arkansas – that is, in Colorado – in the summer of 1815. Philibert was leaving for the Colorado Rockies at the same time. He had been there the year before, in 1814. On their way across Kansas, Chouteau and De Munn bought out Philibert and purchased the employment of his men. But when they reached Huerfano Creek in southeastern Colorado, where the men were supposed to be in rendezvous, it was discovered that the crew had decamped to Taos. So De Munn went after them – and complications set in. De Munn went to Santa Fe, met the governor, found his men in Taos, returned to the Huerfano with them, then went back to St. Louis with Philibert, set out for

the Rockies again in the summer of 1816, and encountered Chouteau – who was coming back from his winter in Colorado. Chouteau, sending his winter's catch of furs on to St. Louis, turned around and headed west with De Munn. De Munn veered off for Santa Fe but was refused entry, so joined Chouteau in the mountains. They trapped and traded for the season, but then had the bad luck to be arrested by Spanish troops on May 23, 1817. Eventually, after a spell in jail, the Spanish released them but confiscated their furs. Provided with one horse apiece, they set out for St. Louis, arriving there in September 1817.

Though we have no direct evidence, there can be no doubt that word of De Munn's and Chouteau's adventures and the possibility of taking trade goods to the Rockies and New Mexico spread throughout frontier Missouri. By this time keen interest in Mexico and its northern province was developing. The Adams-Onís Treaty fixing the Arkansas as the boundary between the United States and Mexico would be signed shortly, in 1819. Newspapers such as the *Missouri Intelligencer* published every bit of news and gossip from the West. Interestingly, a check of the index to *Niles' Weekly Register*, which eventually became *Niles' National Register*, one of the most comprehensive and widely distributed newspapers in America into the 1840s, reveals that every volume from September 1820 to March 1846 contained an article or articles on Mexico.

Given this background, it can be said somewhat paradoxically that when William Becknell and his five companions headed west in 1821, they would blaze new trails, but they were following in the footsteps of those who had gone before. As noted previously, on their first expedition Becknell and his men used only packhorses. The "advertisement" for this trip, placed in the *Missouri Intelligencer* on June 10, 1821, had specified in fact that, "Every man will fit himself for the trip with a horse, a good rifle, and as much ammunition as the company may think necessary . . .," along with "sufficient clothing to keep him warm and comfortable." Further, the articles of agreement read, "It is requisite that

every 8 men shall have a pack horse, an ax, and a tent . . ."

Becknell, of course, returned to Santa Fe in 1822, this time with three wagonloads of goods. In his report published in the *Missouri Intelligencer* for April 22, 1823, he recalled, "Having made arrangements to return, on the 22nd of May, 1822, I crossed the Arrow Rock ferry, and on the third day our company, consisting of 21 men, with three wagons [headed west]." Freighting on the Santa Fe Trail can be said truly to have begun.

The proverbial flood gates now opened, as a decade by decade brief summary of the trade from the 1820s to the 1840s reveals.

During the 1820s some famous Trail incidents occurred and various personalities destined to become legends in Trail history made what could be called their "maiden voyages." In 1823, Stephen Cooper and Joel P. Walker led the major caravan that ventured to Santa Fe. This group used packhorses, each trader leading one or two horses loaded with about \$200 in goods. Choosing the uncharted Cimarron route, they nearly died of thirst but reputedly killed some buffalo and drank their blood, then found water. The largest train in 1824 included such notables as Alexander Le Grand, Augustus Storrs, and Meredith M. Marmaduke. Storrs would become U.S. consul in Santa Fe and pen an early account of the Santa Fe trade at the request of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Marmaduke would become a governor of Missouri. Their group used a number of conveyances including 20 dearborns, two road wagons, and two carts. They carried \$30,000 worth of goods and returned in the fall with \$180,000 in gold and silver and \$10,000 in furs.

The 1825 caravan numbered 105 traders with 34 wagons and 240 horses and mules. This was also the year that the U.S. government survey with George Sibley and others laid out portions of the Santa Fe Trail. This expedition boasted seven baggage wagons, 57 horses and 50 men. By now the use of wagons was commonplace and accepted, so much so in fact that the *Missouri Intelligencer* of April 14, 1826, commented that the chief wagon train in 1826 included "wagons and carriages of al-

most every description." Thomas H. Boggs and Ewing Young accompanied this train. In 1827, Ezekiel Williams captained the caravan, consisting of 105 men, 53 wagons, and even some "pleasure carriages."

Two important caravans left for New Mexico in 1828. One included about 150 men freighting about \$150,000 in merchandise. The other, captained by Alphonso Wetmore, whose brief diary of his journey was published as a Senate Document in 1831, ferried goods totaling around \$41,000. In 1829, military escorts, both American and Spanish, accompanied the westbound and the return eastbound caravans. U.S. Army Major Bennet Riley's escort used oxen successfully for the first time to pull its 20 supply wagons and four carts. Merchants headed for Santa Fe this year included Charles Bent, William Bent, and David Waldo. They left in June. The following September, Spanish Colonel José Antonio Viscarra, with a force of 200 men, guarded 96 traders, 16 wealthy New Mexicans including six women, 30 wagons, and 2,000 head of livestock eastward to the Arkansas River, the international boundary with the United States.

Notable developments in the 1830s included Josiah Gregg's first prairie crossing in 1831, the founding of Bent, St. Vrain & Co. – one of the most commercially viable of all the Trail trading houses – in 1832, and significant investment in the Santa Fe trade by New Mexico Hispanic merchants beginning in 1839. As Susan Boyle so ably describes it in her groundbreaking study *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade*, 1839 witnessed a significant change in the direction of trade from New Mexico.

"... [T]hereafter increasing numbers of New Mexican merchants traveled east every year to arrange for commercial transactions in the United States. They quickly adopted regular trading patterns. In general, their caravans departed from Santa Fe during April or the early part of May, reached Independence or St. Louis, Missouri, and they continued on to eastern industrial centers like Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. In June they started on the trip home. . . .

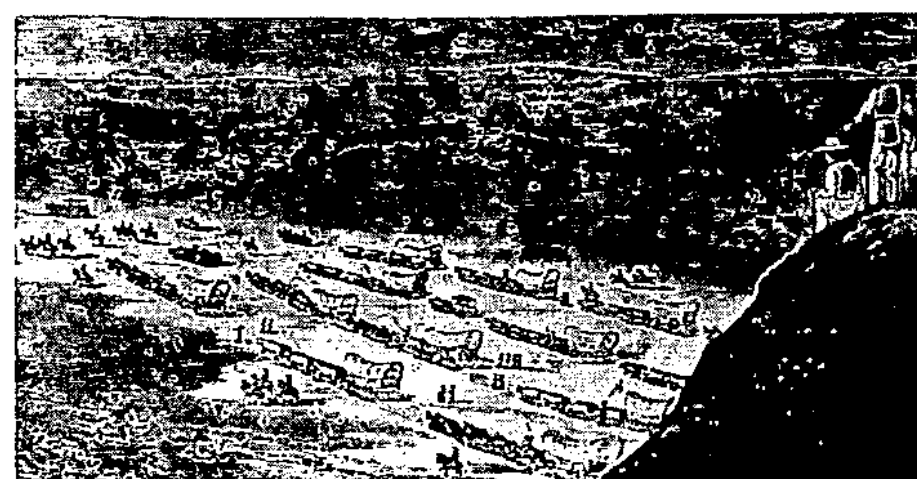
"These merchants boasted well

known family names such as Escudero, Cordero, Ortiz, Olivares, Alvarez, Chávez, Armijo, Otero, and Perea, among others.<sup>7</sup>

Josiah Gregg, of course, subsequently became a trader on the Trail and wrote the major history of the early trade, his *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844). He is still the primary source for statistics on the trade from 1822 to 1843, as the following table from his masterpiece demonstrates. Scholarly research in the last 100 years has added more information on the trade to these figures, but they are still the foundation for any understanding of the era. Gregg writes,

"Some general statistics of the Santa Fe Trade may prove not wholly without interest to the mercantile reader. With this view, I have prepared the following table of the probable amounts of merchandise invested in the Santa Fe Trade, from 1822 to 1843 inclusive, and about the portion of the same transferred to the Southern markets (chiefly Chihuahua) during the same period; together with the approximate number of wagons, men and proprietors engaged each year." See accompanying table below.

The total value of all the merchandise for these 22 years is \$2,922,000.



"March of the Caravan," Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844.

The number of wagons is 1,558. Adding Becknell's three wagons in 1822, gives an average of 70 wagons per year.<sup>8</sup>

The 1840s brought profound change to the Santa Fe trade. In 1841, James W. Magoffin made his first trip to Santa Fe. Five years later he would play a pivotal role in the United States invasion of New Mexico. The summer of 1841 also witnessed the incursion into New Mexico of the ill-fated Texan Santa Fe expedition. But the trade went on, barely even faltering as the American Army marched west in 1846. Summarizing this first era of freighting, the dean of American fur trade history, Hiram Chittenden, becomes almost rhapsodic in his *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, writing over a century ago,

"The composition of the caravans was the most heterogeneous imaginable. The vehicles consisted of heavy

Josiah Gregg's Table					
Years	Amt. Mdse.	Wagons	Men	Prop's	Taken to Chihuahua
1822	15,000		70	60	
1823	12,000		50	30	
1824	35,000	26	100	80	3,000
1825	65,000	37	130	90	5,000
1826	90,000	60	100	70	7,000
1827	85,000	55	90	50	8,000
1828	150,000	100	200	80	20,000
1829	60,000	30	50	20	5,000
1830	120,000	70	140	60	20,000
1831	250,000	130	320	80	80,000
1832	140,000	70	150	40	50,000
1833	180,000	105	185	60	80,000
1834	150,000	80	160	50	70,000
1835	140,000	75	140	40	70,000
1836	130,000	70	135	35	60,000
1837	150,000	80	160	35	80,000
1838	90,000	50	100	20	40,000
1839	250,000	130	250	40	100,000
1840	50,000	30	60	5	10,000
1841	150,000	60	100	15	90,000
1843	450,000	230	350	30	300,000



wagons, carts, and light carriages. There were occasional elegant outfits on the road. 'It has the air of romance,' says an early writer, 'to see splendid pleasure carriages with elegant horses journeying to the Republic of Mexico.'<sup>9</sup>

Citing Chittenden leads to a consideration of the sources of information for the Santa Fe trade at this early juncture, 1821-1846. Many of the familiar folks who penned famous journals, diaries, and memoirs of Santa Fe Trail history were still over the horizon at this point, such as Susan Shelby Magoffin – who traveled the Trail in 1846, Marion Russell – who wasn't born until 1845, and Miguel Antonio Otero, Junior – who was born in 1859. Nevertheless, we do have a number of primary, eyewitness accounts on which to rely. They are presented briefly here in chronological order and with an indication where appropriate of their significance for freighting on the Trail. A few important secondary sources also are mentioned.

#### Primary Sources

1. 1821. William Becknell, obviously, comes first. As already indicated, he gave an account of his trips to Santa Fe in 1821 and 1822 in the *Missouri Intelligencer* for April 22, 1823. This account has been reprinted numerous times, as in the *Missouri Historical Review* for January 10, 1910. It is available in full text on the Internet, as are several of the sources cited here.

2. 1824. As also already mentioned above, Augustus Storrs's *Answers of Augustus Storrs, of Missouri, to Certain Queries upon the Origin, Present State, and Future Prospect, of Trade and Intercourse between Missouri and the Internal Provinces of Mexico*, prepared at the request of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, is invaluable for understanding the early years of the Santa Fe trade. It was first published as Senate Document 7, 18th Congress, 2nd Session. It too has been reprinted many times, as in A. B. Hulbert's *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail*.

3. 1824. Also from 1824 we have Meredith Miles Marmaduke's journal. He left Franklin, Missouri, on May 18, 1824, and arrived in Santa Fe on July 31. The *Missouri Histori-*

*cal Review* printed his memoir in its October 1911 edition.

4. 1828. We have two interesting documentary accounts from 1828, both again courtesy of the *Missouri Historical Review*. In July 1914 the *Review* published, "Major Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of a Journey to Santa Fe, 1828." Wetmore sent extracts of his diary along with other information on the Trail to Secretary of War Lewis Cass in 1831. With specific reference to freighting on the Trail, the letters of James and Robert Aull, successful and prosperous Missouri merchants, give background details on the ordering and delivery of goods for the trade. The letters, edited by Ralph Bieber and printed by the *Missouri Historical Review* in June 1928, cover the years 1828 to 1849.

5. 1834. A somewhat unknown and underrated Trail account is that of Albert Pike, who traveled the Trail in 1831 and 1832 and published his musings in 1834. His idiosyncratic style perhaps has contributed to his obscurity. David Weber edited his writings, published in 1967 as *Albert Pike, Prose Sketches and Poems, Written in the Western Country (With Additional Stories)*.

6. 1839. From July 15 to October 30, 1839, Matt Field – an actor turned Santa Fe traveler and soon to be assistant editor of the *New Orleans Picayune* newspaper, kept a journal and then wrote up his adventures as articles for the *Picayune*. Edited by John Sunder, both the journal and the articles appeared as *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* in 1960. As already noted, Field's account is probably the most lyrical composed by those who crossed the plains. He began his rhapsody at Cotton Wood Grove, writing, "The Prairies! The wild Desert Plains! After fifteen days travel we are in a little paradise, a grove of tall trees. . . ."<sup>10</sup>

7. 1844. As noted, the most important primary source we have is Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, first published in 1844, though it is a compilation of his experiences as both a traveler and a trader on the Trail beginning in 1831. It has been reprinted many times and is accessible in full text on-line.

8. And finally, for primary sources, we have – at the very end of this ini-

tial period of freighting – James Josiah Webb's memoirs, edited by Ralph Beiber and published as *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847*, first issued by A. H. Clark in 1931 and reissued in 1995 as a Bison Book by the University of Nebraska Press. Webb provides some of our most detailed lists of goods taken down the Trail.

#### Secondary Sources

There are three secondary sources that cannot be overlooked when dealing with the Trail and freighting from 1821 to 1846. Every Trail buff and scholar should have copies.

1. Louise Barry's *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854*, published at Topeka by the Kansas State Historical Society in 1972, is monumental. If there is any person who crossed Kansas in this period, Ms. Barry noted it and included it in her year-by-year analysis.

2. The distinguished Missouri historian, Frank F. Stephens, over 90 years ago, published his study "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," in the *Missouri Historical Review*. His research is vital and vibrant.

3. Much more recently, we have Mark L. Gardner's comprehensive *Wagons on the Santa Fe Trail, 1822-1880*, commissioned by the National Park Service and issued in 1997. Amply illustrated, it has chapters on "Early Wagons," "Wagons From Pennsylvania," "Wagon Making In Missouri," "Freight Wagons Until Circa 1855," and "The Santa Fe Wagon."

Having reviewed these sources, the four questions posed earlier concerning Santa Fe trade freighting can now be answered: What was transported? How was it transported? Who was involved in the trade? And, what was the situation on the Trail in 1845?

As has been mentioned several times, various types of cloth constituted the backbone of the Santa Fe trade and contributed mightily to the profits to be made. As noted above, just three years after Becknell first headed west, Augustus Storrs was queried about the trade. He was asked, "What kind of merchandise are [*sic*] principally carried out to the internal provinces?" He



answered,

"Cotton goods, consisting of coarse and fine cambrics, domestic, shawls, handkerchiefs, steam loom shirtings, and cotton hose. A few woolen goods, consisting of super blues, stroudings, pelisse cloths, and shawls, crapes, bomazettes, some light articles of cutlery, silk shawls, and looking glasses. In addition to these, many other articles necessary for the purposes of an assortment."<sup>11</sup>

Twenty-one years later, from 1845, we have a partial but nonetheless exhaustive lading of the goods sent to Santa Fe by James Josiah Webb and his partner George P. Doan. This merchandise cost \$6267.22 and included, with the various types of cloth listed first, "fancy, black, white, pink, and mourning prints; brown, and bleached sheeting; striped, and checked muslins; blue, and linen drillings; scarlet, and zebra cloth; blue, black, and green alpaca; red, and white flannel; black cambric; striped, plaid, and black cashmere; bleached domestics; French lawns; Irish linens; white, and fancy edgings; cotton flags; bandana, black silk, cotton, and red pongee handkerchiefs; German shawls; white cotton hose; hickory shirts; blue denims; buck gloves; blacks silk ties; suspenders; green shoe thread; fine ivory combs; beads; necklaces; gold rings; fancy, and gilt hair pins; pearl shirt buttons; gilded vest buttons; gilded coat buttons; needles; scissors; razors; strops; coffee mills; sadirons; log chains; shovels; spades; hoes; axes; percussion caps; cork inkstands; shaving soap; and candlewick."<sup>12</sup>

Where did these merchants get all this stuff? The letters of the enterprising Aull brothers, first headquartered in Lexington, Missouri, give us a picture of the effort involved and can apply to almost any Santa Fe trader and trading house, even those owned by Hispanic merchants and managed from New Mexico. In a *Missouri Historical Review* article reviewing the Aull's business organization, the historian Lewis Atherton noted,

"Wholesaling was in its infant stages in the West [in the early 1830s], and James Aull found it advisable to go East once a year to purchase supplies for the next twelve

months. He would leave Lexington about January 1 and would return in March or April, with much of the time being consumed in the arduous journey. As nearly as one can judge from the laconic statements in his letter books he went by horseback or wagon through Fayette to St. Louis. From there he took a stage to Louisville, Kentucky, by way of Vincennes, thence to Pittsburgh and overland to Philadelphia. Simply to state the route of the itinerary is to ignore the problems of such a journey – the cold, the slow travel over frozen roads, and the fear that stage coaches along the route might not be running in the dead of winter."

But goods also could be sent up the Mississippi from New Orleans. Atherton continues,

"New Orleans was another city from which the Aulls made many purchases but James never visited it on his annual trips east. However, he occasionally went to New Orleans to sell a cargo of goods and Robert made a special trip in 1832 to purchase the year's supply of groceries. Brown sugar, molasses, coffee, and other articles in the grocery line usually came from the southern city and order for 15,000 pounds of sugar and 10,000 pounds of coffee at one time are listed in the letter books."

When the Aulls couldn't make their own buying trips, they contracted with agents to purchase and ship for them, but the same transportation problems confronted them. Atherton adds,

"In addition to purchasing large orders of dry goods from Siter, Price and Company of Philadelphia, James employed them as his representatives in the East. Hence when the purchases from other firms were complete the whole was collected and boxed by Siter, Price for shipment. The heavier goods were usually sent by sailing vessel down the Atlantic Coast to New Orleans and from there to St. Louis by steamer. The lighter things were brought overland by wagon to Pittsburgh and shipped down the river from that point to St. Louis, from whence the complete cargo could be brought to the West by wagon or boat."

These were the efforts necessary just to obtain the goods that would be sold, on credit, to other merchants

headed for New Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

So, say you are a Santa Fe trader who has purchased cotton goods from the Aulls. Hark back to the question asked earlier about your own clothes – where they and the raw materials they are made of came from, and think of the "striped and checked muslins" on Webb & Doan's dry goods list. What was the origin of this cloth?

First, trace the path of the cotton itself. From the late eighteenth century and especially after the invention of the cotton gin, right up through the American Civil War, English cotton mill owners bought cotton through consignment agents in New Orleans, cotton produced by slaves on Southern plantations. That cotton might be ginned and baled at the plantation, shipped by steamer down a Southern river to the Gulf of Mexico and along the Gulf Coast to New Orleans, then sent by sailing vessel and later ocean steamer to Liverpool, thence by canal barge to the English Midlands, where it was made into all those varieties of cloth. It was then shipped back to Liverpool by barge and west across the Atlantic to New York or perhaps Baltimore. A Missouri or New Mexico merchant would contract there for its delivery to St. Louis, Franklin, or Independence, overland via Pittsburgh, then down the Ohio and up the Missouri. Only then was it freighted across the plains.

Regarding the manufacture of English cloth from American cotton, it should also be mentioned that the Industrial Revolution had as decisive an impact on the shipment of cotton and cotton goods as the invention of the cotton gin, spinning jenny, and power loom had on the production of cloth. Here the turning point was Robert Fulton's successful test of a steamboat in 1807. Floating downstream had never been much of a problem, obviously – but freighting goods upstream was another matter. It was very expensive, all over the world, to carry bulky goods against a river's current. Fulton solved that problem and, as far as the Santa Fe trade was concerned, it is important to recall that the first steamboat up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, to Pittsburgh, was the *New Orleans*, in 1812. Then, in a famous incident related to U.S. Army exploration in the

West, Major Stephen Long managed to reach a point on the Missouri, just south of present-day Council Bluffs, Iowa, with his steamboat, the *Western Engineer*, in 1819, though he had to abandoned efforts to take it any farther. And finally, again in 1819, the *Savannah*, sailing from the Georgia port of the same name, became the first steamship to cross the Atlantic. She was a hybrid in that she also carried and used sails, but the era of oceangoing steam transport had also arrived. Without these inventions and improvements, the opening and continued success of the Santa Fe trade would have been doubtful.

There was, of course, an alternative to English goods. Francis Lowell founded the Boston Manufacturing Company in 1813 and built the first commercially-viable American cotton mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1814, but it wasn't until the mid-1820s that American mills could compete in quality and quantity with the English mills. American cloth didn't make the Atlantic round trip that English cloth did, but the rigors of getting it from the east coast to Missouri were the same.

We have no way of knowing the proportion of American to English cloth that passed over the Trail. At any rate, whatever the source of the cloth sold on the Santa Fe plaza, it had made a remarkable journey, having been freighted in just about every type of transport available in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Transportation was assuredly on the mind of Becknell and his companions, especially on his second trip in 1822. How did he decide first on packhorses and then on wagons as means of conveyance? The answer is more complicated than it might appear – because of course, simplistically speaking, he had no other choices. It is at this point that the connection between the American fur trade as it had been carried on for decades, and the Santa Fe trade, a connection often overlooked, becomes important.

When he advertised in the *Missouri Intelligencer* of June 10, 1821, for his first outfit to venture west, Becknell said he was going “for purpose of trading for Horses & Mules, and catching Wild Animals of every

description. . . .” In other words and ostensibly, he contemplated an expedition in the mode of Jules De Munn and others and, as we have seen, he organized his venture accordingly and as others had done before him. In a confusingly unreliable account of Ezekiel Williams's trapping activities, David Coyner says of Williams's 1807 expedition,

“The outfit of each man was a rifle, together with as much powder and lead as it was supposed would last for two years. Each one took six traps, which were packed upon an extra horse. . . . Pistols, awls, axes, knives, camp kettles, blankets, and various other essential articles, also made a part of the equipage.”<sup>14</sup>

David Weber and Robert Glass Cleland also make the connection between the fur trade and the early Santa Fe trade. In his *The Taos Trappers*, Weber, in reviewing the activities of the Hugh Glenn, James Baird, and William Becknell parties in 1821, notes, “For two of these first three groups, who visited newly independent Santa Fe, trapping seems to have been more profitable than selling merchandise.” Only Becknell had the luck or foresight to see the possibilities of freighting goods across the plains, though as Weber remarks of Becknell's 1822 journey, “[T]here is no doubt that some of the twenty-one men who had accompanied him to New Mexico stayed to trap.” And Becknell himself, in 1823, went west to the Green River seeking beaver.<sup>15</sup>

Fur companies, if they didn't rely on horses and circumstances permitted, used river transport – and had done so from the time the French sailed up the St. Lawrence in the sixteenth century. In his fur trade study, *This Reckless Breed of Men*, Cleland records, “In the regions drained by the Missouri and its larger tributaries, canoes, bullboats, and keelboats were common means of transportation.” But he then signals the change to wagon transport in the Santa Fe trade on the Great Plains, writing, “With rare exceptions, the streams of that vast region of uncertain extent and indefinite boundaries called the Southwest were too small and erratic or too swift and tumultuous to permit the use of boats of any type.” He says further, “This lack of navigable rivers

compelled the fur traders of the Southwest to rely almost entirely upon the caravan or pack train for transportation.”<sup>16</sup>

As hinted earlier, our reaction here might be, “Well yeah, so what else new? You can't take a steamboat on the Arkansas.” But introducing wagons was a significant change in operation for these fur trappers, albeit a necessary and obvious one. To drive the point home a bit further, remember that on Pike's western expedition, young Lieutenant James Wilkinson and some of Pike's men built bullboats on the Arkansas and “sailed,” if the term is appropriate, downriver from western Kansas. On October 27, 1806, Lieutenant Wilkinson wrote to his father, the infamous General James Wilkinson, “In a few moments I enter by skin canoe to descend the river, and part with Mr. Pike – the prospect is not as favorable as I would wish . . .,” not least of course because navigating the Arkansas even back then and especially at that season was uncertain.<sup>17</sup>

Out of necessity then, Becknell took three “conveyances” to Santa Fe in 1822 and as Gregg demonstrates, and until the railroad arrived, nearly everyone followed suit. Given the fur trade background of the early Santa Fe merchants, it is interesting to ask: How did they decide on what kind of wagon, carriage, or cart to use? What was available in Missouri at that time? Did the style of wagons change between 1822 and 1846? Santa Fe Trail historian Mark Gardner considers these and other pertinent questions in his *Wagons on the Santa Fe Trail, 1822-1880*, and it would be redundant to go into detail here. He notes, however, “In the absence of . . . artist renderings or more detailed references to vehicles, the hundreds of wagon used on; the Santa Fe Trail during the 1820s, and even into the 1830s, must remain somewhat of a mystery.” He then traces the introduction of the classic Pennsylvania-made “Conestoga” wagon in the 1830s, and the development of Missouri-made “Santa Fe Wagons” – the latter not appearing though until the 1840s. The obvious conclusion is that Becknell and those who followed immediately after him loaded their goods on whatever vehicle they could find at hand and hoped



it would hold up all the way to New Mexico.<sup>18</sup>

The image of the Santa Fe-bound wagon caravan, thanks in part to the work of the Santa Fe Trail Association and the Santa Fe Trail Center, is now part of America's historical consciousness. The cries of "Catch up, catch up," and "All's set," still echo across the plains. Again, there is no need here to review this aspect of Santa Fe Trail lore. It is interesting, though, to take a look at popular literature from the nineteenth century and see what the view of the wagon trains and caravans was over a century ago. Often in the popular press of that day, such as the magazines *Harper's* or *The Century*, we find reference to the "oriental and medieval aspect" of the Santa Fe caravans – comparisons to the Silk Road in Asia and Marco Polo that were more familiar to readers then than now. Or consider this description from one of the many "travel books" produced after the Civil War by what seem to be semiprofessional travel writers, in this case an A.C. Wheeler. He traveled west on the emerging transcontinental lines in the 1870s and summed up his adventures in *The Iron Trail: A Sketch*, published in 1876. Writing from La Junta, Colorado, and exhibiting the full-blown elitism and racism of the time, he says,

"[W]e shall strike what is left of the old Santa Fé trail and business, and see the Ship of the Plains, in dock, loading for a southern voyage. . . . When loaded, they roll leisurely out across the country, drawn inevitably by oxen, and driven by the equally bovine greasers. And the last seen of them are the canvas sails as they disappear slowly over the undulating country."<sup>19</sup>

Even teamsters could be romanticized though, given the right author. Mary Hallock Foote, a prominent writer and illustrator from the 1880s to the 1920s, produced a series of articles called collectively "Pictures of the Far West," for *The Century* magazine. The segment in its July 1889 issue profiled the life of a teamster. Hallock wrote,

"He is not unpicturesque. . . . The teamster is usually man of varied experience, acquainted with life through its misfortunes. His philosophy easily condenses itself into the



"A Train Crossing the Great Plains," from A. C. Wheeler, *The Iron Trail*.

phrase, 'It's dogged that does it.' . . . The teamster either has or affects a great contempt for his calling – unlike the stage-driver, who is always figuratively speaking, on the box. He calls himself, and submits to be called, by derogatory epithets allusive to the animals he is driving. He will tell you that his is a 'bull-puncher' or a 'mule-skinner' but he says it with more of ostentation than humility. Relatively the teamster is but a small figure in that imposing procession of the forces of civilization on its march westward. But . . . upon his endurance and dogged resolution . . . the fate of many of the bravest experiments has rested."<sup>20</sup>

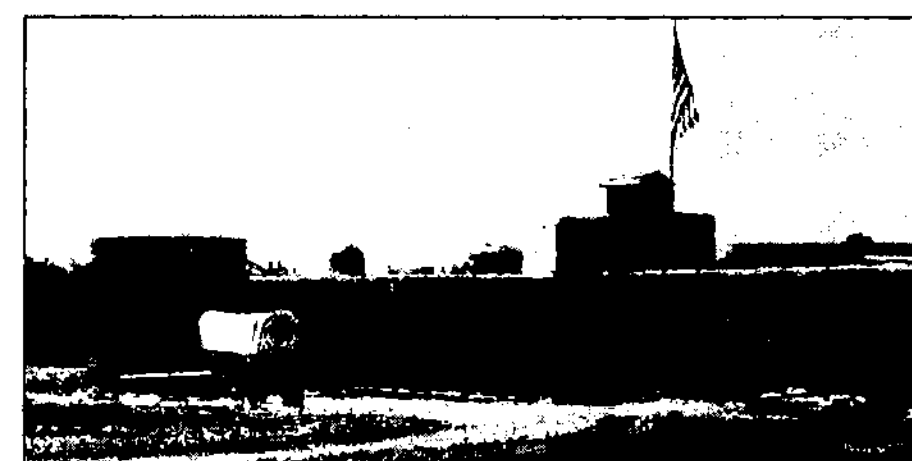
To this we might add, so did the fate of the Santa Fe trade – and that brings us to a final consideration – how was the trade organized?

The names of prominent trading houses and individual entrepreneurs immediately spring to mind when we reference the Santa Fe trade – Bent, St. Vrain and Company, Otero, Sel-lar and Company, the Glasgow Brothers and Alexander Majors, for example. So it is always important to remind ourselves that a bulk of the trade was not carried on by major enterprises but instead by enterprising individuals. In *The Lost Trappers*, David Coyner remarks of the Santa Fe trade, "This trade differs in one respect, from the fur trade, and that is this. The latter is carried on by companies of very heavy capital. The Santa Fe trade is carried on by individuals." He perhaps overstates the case, but it can be balanced with an observation in a book review of the first edition of Josiah Gregg's *The Commerce of the Prairies*, in *The North American Review* magazine for January 1845. An anonymous reviewer wrote, in summarizing Gregg's description of the start of a caravan from Missouri, "In the early part of the month, adventurers might be seen flocking thither from all quarters, some bent on high

schemes of commercial speculation .

...<sup>21</sup>

The extensive research of F. F. Stephens, referred to earlier, along with Gregg's table noting the number of proprietors engaged in the trade between 1822 and 1843, substantiates this claim that individuals predominated in the Santa Fe trade. Stephens writes, "For the first six years of this period [1822-1828] the number of men engaged in the trade each year was about ninety, of whom one-third were employees. The other two-thirds were proprietors, investing in the business in a comparatively small way, sometimes with one or two employees, sometimes with no assistants at all."<sup>22</sup>



Bent's Fort and Freight Wagon.

Ceran St. Vrain was one such individual, though he also of course eventually made the transition to partner in a major trading house, Bent, St. Vrain & Company. St. Vrain was born in Missouri in 1802, one of ten children. When he was 16 his father died and he entered the employ of Pratte, Cabanne & Company, one of the principal fur houses in St. Louis. During the 1824 season in the Rockies, he encountered William Becknell and heard of the money to be made in Santa Fe. Significantly, given the arguments made in this presentation, the next year his employer, Bernard Pratte, financed a wagonload of trade goods for St. Vrain. He then remained in New Mexico and eventually met Charles Bent, who became his business partner in 1830. Between then and his death in 1870, St. Vrain became one of the most influential men in the Southwest. He and Cornelio Vigil, of Taos, received a four-million-acre land grant from the Mexican government in 1843. During the 1850s, St. Vrain extended his commercial empire, building a flour-mill and a sawmill in Mora, New Mexico. He supplied the U.S. Army at nearby Fort Union with both flour



and timber. His other enterprises included the *Santa Fe Gazette* and the printing contract for New Mexico Territory. During the Colorado gold rush of 1859, he opened a dry goods store in Denver to supply the mining trade. St. Vrain prospered in the early decades of the Santa Fe trade and, obviously, adjusted to the new era of commerce in the Southwest that began with war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico in 1846.<sup>23</sup>

Talk of war was "in the air" in 1845, which proved to be the last year for trade along the lines inaugurated by William Becknell back in 1821. The 1845 season got off to somewhat of an unusual start, with the arrival in Independence in March of seven traders who had made a winter crossing via Bent's Fort. That spring the Missouri River ran lower than normally. Steamboats encountered dangerous snags and many ran aground, disrupting trade. Another party of traders from Santa Fe reached Independence in April, having left Santa Fe in March. They found Independence a hotbed of "Oregon fever," with thousands of emigrants planning to depart over the next few months.

Despite the changing situation, there was considerable traffic on the Santa Fe Trail all during the summer and fall in both directions, though frontier newspaper editors speculated that rumors of war would impact the trade. In fact, the wagon trains arrived from and departed for New Mexico as normal well into the following early summer of 1846. But war had been declared on May 13 and on June 5 Captain Benjamin Moore of the First U.S. Dragoons at Fort Leavenworth received orders from Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, "to overtake, and detain, the Santa Fe-bound wagons of traders Armijo and Speyer," which reputedly were carrying "a large quantity of arms and ammunition." It was now the U.S. Army that would come to influence and dominate freighting on the Santa Fe Trail. And within the normal life span of those engaged in the trade, just thirty-five years hence, the Trail itself would be history.<sup>24</sup>

In closing, let us return to thinking about cloth and drop into a trader's store on the Santa Fe plaza in the 1820s. We can imagine a New

Mexico *senora*, wife of a *rico* New Mexican and in effect the manager of the domestic activities at the family's *hacienda* outside of town, including the spinning and weaving of cotton and woolen cloth. She is in Santa Fe on one of her periodic shopping expeditions and stops in our trader's shop to look at that new wonder she has heard about, manufactured cloth – available in many colors and patterns. She can afford to purchase yards and yards of it. She inquires at the counter, samples appear, she mutters "*Madre de Dios*," and no one on the *hacienda* ever spins thread or looms cloth by hand again.

#### Notes

1. John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries: a Selection from the Tours of the Hon. John Byng between the Years 1781 and 1794* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1954), 178.
2. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 80, 13.
3. Oxford English Dictionary [OED] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 8:171; Matt Field, *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 65.
4. OED, 8:172.
5. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 129, 213, 332.
6. For brief accounts of these early expeditions and summaries of Santa Fe-bound activity each year as considered below, see especially Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 2 vols. (1910; reprint, New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935) and Louise Barry, comp., *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972).
7. Susan Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 60-61.
8. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 332.
9. Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II: 521.
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11. Augustus Storrs, *Answers of Augustus Storrs, of Missouri, to Certain Queries upon the Origin, Present State, and Future Prospect of Trade and Intercourse between Missouri and the Internal Provinces of Mexico* (Senate Document 7, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, 1824).
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## THE ARMY'S ATTEMPTS AT FREIGHTING DURING THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848

by Leo E. Oliva

I am grateful to Harry Myers and Mike Olsen for providing an overview and background for this look at army freighting. I would like to add one more book to Olsen's list of secondary sources for the early period of the Santa Fe trade, a book which also includes the era of the Mexican War. Stephen Hyslop's *Bound for Santa Fe, The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848*, provides the best single-volume history of the early Trail since Josiah Gregg published his *Commerce of the Prairies* in 1844.<sup>1</sup>

When assigned to speak about military freighting during the Mexican War, it seemed at first thought this would be short and simple. Basically, the military attempts at freighting during the Mexican War were difficult and expensive (but successful in so far as the military conquest of the Southwest was concerned), and the army soon turned to contract freighters to supply the needs of western military posts and expeditions. That was it; my job was done. But there is more, and I will attempt to explain.

When war came between the U.S.

and Mexico in May 1846, a direct consequence of the annexation of Texas by the U.S. the previous year, there were many logistical problems facing the troops sent to invade Mexico. The army became the major purchaser of mules, oxen, and wagons in Missouri, and young men were recruited from the farms, small towns, and major cities to help move the freight (serving as teamsters, wagonmasters, and herders). Most of these workers, as well as military personnel assigned the tasks of transportation of huge quantities of supplies over vast distances, were not trained nor fully aware of what was required. It was the quartermaster department's responsibility.<sup>2</sup>

The quartermaster department, in charge of transportation and supplies, had failed miserably during the War of 1812. During the 1820s to 1840s Quartermaster General Thomas Jesup, who was appointed to that office in 1818, worked hard to reorganize the department and make sure that such failure never happened again. He served in that office until his death in 1860. The Mexican War was to test his reorganized department.

Also in 1818, when the army was reorganized and Jesup became quartermaster general, Congress abolished the contract system of provisioning the army that had been used since 1781, and the Commissary of Subsistence Department was created. Thus the quartermaster and the commissary departments provided the supplies required by the army. George Gibson was appointed commissary general of subsistence in 1818, a position he held until his death in 1861.

Jesup and Gibson reorganized the procurement and supply system for the entire army, which was not easy because Congress was extremely parsimonious with budgets, especially military budgets. Despite short budgets and limited staffs, Jesup and Gibson developed an efficient system. It worked well as the nation expanded westward and the army built new forts. It worked well during various Indian campaigns, including the Black Hawk War (1832) and the Seminole War (1835-1842). It was severely tested by the Mexican War, but it worked (although at great expense).

A major function of the quartermaster department was transportation (including movement of troops and their baggage as well as all the supplies and provisions required at military posts and in the field), and transportation costs were the greatest portion of the department's expenditures. Prior to the Seminole War, most of the transportation was by contract with civilian firms, whether carried by water, wagon, or railroad. During the long Seminole War the quartermaster department provided most of the transportation for troops in the field, buying equipment and draft animals and hiring civilian teamsters and wagonmasters, forage masters, and wheelwrights and blacksmiths to make necessary repairs. The department also followed a plan to attempt to have supplies in the field where they were anticipated to be needed, rather than wait for requisitions (which would take too long to fill in time to be of service). The Seminole War proved to be invaluable experience for the Mexican War, as did Stephen Watts Kearny's expedition across the Great Plains in 1845.

General Kearny's Army of the West was able to march from Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River, via the Mountain Route of the Santa Fe Trail, capture Santa Fe without a fight, and move on to California and help win the fight there, because his supply system worked. Kearny's experiences while leading an expedition across the Great Plains and back again in 1845 showed him the necessity of having supplies readily at hand for a march of conquest into Mexico. As historian Frederic Paxson wrote nearly a century ago, in 1910, "Kearny's baggage train started a new era in Plains freighting."<sup>3</sup> He was referring, of course, to freighting of military supplies which became, as you already know, the majority of freight hauled over the Santa Fe Trail thereafter. Paxson was introducing the development of big business freighting companies, which will be covered by Craig Crease. But Paxson's quotation refers to the Mexican War, pointing the need to understand what happened during that conflict as the stage for what came after. And that, as I understand it, is my task today. So how can I explain that "Kearny's

baggage train started a new era in Plains freighting"?

Kearny knew that the success of the Army of the West depended on provisions for the long march and occupation of northern Mexico. He was committed to making every effort possible to provide essential equipment and supplies, and he sent a number of requests to the federal arsenals at St. Louis and Liberty, Missouri, for weapons and ammunition soon after he was appointed commander of the Army of the West. He sent requisitions to the commissary department for rations to see his troops across the Great Plains and to sustain them in Mexico.

The commissary department assumed that for some time to come the subsistence economy of New Mexico would be able to provide almost nothing for the subsistence of the troops. Thus New Mexico was not expected to provide many of the basic components of the regulation rations. Almost all the food would have to be transported from Fort Leavenworth over the Santa Fe Trail. Rations included salt pork or bacon or fresh or salt beef, flour or hard bread, beans or rice, coffee or tea, sugar, salt, and vinegar.

It was possible to substitute corn meal for the flour, and there was some surplus corn as well as some course flour in New Mexico. There were plenty of sheep in New Mexico, but there were no provisions in military regulations to substitute lamb for pork or beef. Other things that could be purchased in New Mexico were salt, beans, and a few cattle. Within a short time, the commissary department allowed the issue of mutton when other meats were not available.

The availability of meat, other than live cattle which could be driven from one point to another without great expense, as well as the supply of flour was considered to be of great importance because the cost to transport these items by wagons over great distances meant that the cost of transportation was greater than the value of the meat or flour. In addition, these items were difficult to preserve on the road, so there was waste from broken containers and from simple spoilage. Most food items were packed in barrels, and much space was wasted because bar-



rels left much unused space when packed in the wagons. This problem was not addressed until after the Mexican War.

In 1850 Colonel George A. McCall of the Inspector General's Department noted that the "whiskey barrels" in which bread was packed weighed half as much as their contents. Thus, nearly one-third of the cost of transportation was expended on the weight of the barrels, estimated by McCall to be about \$13 per barrel going from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe. He proposed using square boxes to make better use of space and cut down on the weight.

The barrels packed with flour and salt meat sometimes developed leaks during transit. The flour that leaked out became dirty and could not be used. If the brine leaked out from barrels packed with meat, the meat would spoil and be condemned. It should be noted, however, that even though the condemned meat could not be issued to the troops, it was auctioned to the public.

At Kearny's request, when he saw the task before him, the quartermaster at St. Louis (Major Aeneas Mackay) and at Fort Leavenworth (Captain William McKissack) advertised in Missouri newspapers for wagons, horses, mules, oxen, and civilians to work as teamsters and wagonmasters to transport the provisions and baggage of the officers and troops to Santa Fe and beyond. Major Mackay also sent a thousand packsaddles to Fort Leavenworth in case Kearny needed them. Kearny left the packsaddles behind but later discovered when he left New Mexico for California that he needed them and had to acquire them in New Mexico.

As it turned out, given the military success that Kearny achieved during the war, his greatest challenge was obtaining everything needed from the commissary and quartermaster departments. There were many problems to be resolved to acquire and transport supplies and provisions required by thousands of troops (the Army of the West under Kearny totaled 1,658 officers and men and the reinforcements that followed under Sterling Price included at least a thousand more volunteers, the Mormon Battalion comprised more than 400 vol-

unteers, and replacements to fill the vacancies created when the one-year term of service of the volunteers expired, altogether a total of approximately 3,950 in addition to the 1,658 of the Army of the West, plus all the teamsters and other civilian employees, all had to be supplied, thus there was a total of some 6,000 people to be fed) moving hundreds of miles from their base at Fort Leavenworth (the army calculated the distance from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe via the Mountain Route at 873 miles). As quickly as possible, after learning of his assignment to lead the Army of the West in May 1846, Kearny requested (almost demanded) that the two departments purchase large quantities of food, hundreds of wagons, and thousands of draft animals in western Missouri. In addition, he needed wagonmasters and teamsters to drive the supply trains over the Santa Fe Trail, and those civilians needed to be armed so they could protect themselves from Indians.

From his experience of the previous year, leading an expedition comprised of 280 men from Fort Leavenworth along the Oregon Trail to South Pass, south along the front range of the Rocky Mountains to Bent's Fort, and returning via the Santa Fe Trail, a total distance of 2,200 miles completed in 99 days, Kearny understood the need to have supplies available along the way for the Army of the West. Thus, as soon as possible, he began sending supply trains out onto the Santa Fe Trail before any troops marched from Fort Leavenworth.

In early June 1846, several weeks before leading his troops from Fort Leavenworth, Kearny began sending provision trains, containing mostly rations, in groups of 25 to 30 wagons each, toward Bent's Fort (which was to be the rendezvous point for the Army of the West before marching to Santa Fe—again, Kearny's experience of the previous year made him realize that the Army of the West should move in small units because of the limited supplies of grass, water, and wood at the campsites; Bent's Fort was also designated a supply depot for the army). These wagon trains would be ahead of the troops so that, when the supply wagons accompanying the troops on the

Trail ran out of provisions, those wagons could return to Fort Leavenworth for another load, and the troops could catch up with the wagons ahead of them to obtain supplies to keep them moving. These supply trains continued at regular intervals throughout the summer of 1846, bringing material essential to the survival and success of his troops. The Mexican War saw the first such effort by the U.S. Army to provide freighting overland for long distances to supply the army of conquest. Prior to the Mexican War, military supplies had been moved as far as possible by water, and there was little overland freighting required.

Proceeding in this manner, with supply trains ahead, with, and behind the troops, the Army of the West was not detained in its march to Santa Fe by the complete absence of basic necessities, one thing that could have brought about the total failure of the mission.

Historian Walker D. Wyman, one of the first to write about military freighting during the Mexican War (in 1932) declared: "The Mexican War brought a great and rapid change in the traffic on the Santa Fe Trail. Over this highway moved troops, traders, expresses, and hundreds of wagons belonging to the quartermaster's department."

He continued: "The problem of supplying the army was of no small import. Reports from New Mexico indicated a grain shortage in that country. Reliance upon that area for a food supply was impossible. The alternative was to send all subsistence overland, in wagons pulled by mules or oxen."

Wyman noted: "For the contemplated trip to New Mexico, it was estimated that 900 wagons, 1,000 teamsters, and about 10,000 oxen and mules would be required. Government agents operated actively in St. Louis and vicinity, buying mules, horses, wagons and provisions, and in contracting for the manufacture of wagons, knapsacks and various other articles necessary for the army. Thousands of barrels of pork at \$10 per barrel and thousands of pounds of 'clear bacon-sides' at five cents per pound were purchased in St. Louis and sent by way of steamer to Fort Leavenworth. Agents of the



commissary department penetrated Missouri and near-by states for mules, paying \$100 apiece for all they could get.”<sup>4</sup>

Everything was shipped to Fort Leavenworth where it was loaded on wagons for the trip across the plains. Because there was a shortage of wagons and it took time to build them, the provisions piled up at Fort Leavenworth, awaiting transportation. Even so, Kearny had sent a hundred wagons ahead of the troops with enough provisions, it was believed, for 1,300 men for three months.

Although the supply trains were operated by civilian employees, soldiers at Fort Leavenworth awaiting their departure for New Mexico were pressed into duty to load the wagons. The teamsters and wagonmasters were mostly untrained, and the St. Louis *New Era* declared that the army better hire and send some blacksmiths and wheelwrights along with the wagons “to secure their arrival at the place of destination.”

Most of the supply trains traveled without a military escort, although some did accompany the troops as they marched westward. The crew of each wagon train was provided with arms and ammunition to protect themselves from any possible Indian attacks. That worked well for the first few months, but as more and more supply trains traveled the Trail to keep up the supplies to troops in New Mexico, Indian resistance increased and military protection became necessary (more on Indians later).

The supplies were shipped from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth by steamboat. At Fort Leavenworth, Captain William McKissack, post quartermaster, oversaw the storage, packing, and sending out of supply trains. In July 1846 McKissack was relieved by Captain R. E. Clary, and McKissack and another quartermaster, Captain Robert Allen, were sent to Santa Fe to assume the quartermaster duties in New Mexico. Quartermaster General Jesup appointed Major Thomas Swords to serve as quartermaster for Kearny’s expedition, and he worked at Fort Leavenworth, assisting with the equipping of troops and shipment of supplies, and joined Kearny in Santa Fe in August. He brought with him Kearny’s promotion to brigadier general.

Swords accompanied Kearny to California.

Despite many problems, the army supply system worked. There are few records available about these military supply trains and other transportation provided by the army, but some soldiers commented on their service.

Lieutenant Richard Smith Elliott, Laclede Rangers, stated, June 27, 1846, “the topographical engineers . . . started for the prairies. They had some eight or ten voyageurs as servants, several pack mules, a baggage wagon, and a handsome spring car, with four mules harnessed to it, to ‘tote’ their instruments.” Two days later, “On the 29th of June we left Fort Leavenworth. . . . The Quartermaster had allowed us two teams of six mules each to haul our provisions and camp equipage—in addition to which the company have purchased a wagon and three yoke of oxen, to transport the saddle-bags of the men, so as to relieve the horses of part of their load.”<sup>5</sup>

John Taylor Hughes, *Doniphan’s Expedition*, 1847, provided more information: “The mules and other animals being mostly unused to the harness often became refractory and balky. Numbers of wagons daily broke down. Time was required to make repairs. Hence the march was of necessity both slow and tedious.” Even so, he noted: “Numerous trains of Government wagons continued to be dispatched from the Fort upon the road to Santa Fe. . . . Provisions (chiefly breadstuffs, salt, etc.) were conveyed in wagons, and beef cattle driven along for the use of the men. The animals subsisted entirely by grazing.”<sup>6</sup>

It is estimated that more than a thousand head of cattle were driven over the Santa Fe Trail to supply the troops. These were the first cattle drives on the Great Plains. When someone suggests that the Santa Fe Trail was a cattle trail, are they wrong? Several thousand more cattle were driven to New Mexico over the Santa Fe Trail between 1846 and the Civil War.

Hughes noted that Council Grove was an important place along the way for the supplies trains, stating that “a few houses and a blacksmith shop have recently been erected for the use of the Government.”<sup>7</sup> This

was the last place for repairs until New Mexico at the time, except for such repairs as could be made on the road.

Hughes described how the supply system worked: “Our provisions becoming scant, on the 7th [July], Lieut. S. Jackson, of Howard, with four men, was sent forward seven or eight days’ march in advance of the command, with orders to halt a train of provisions wagons at the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas. This order was promptly executed. It may not be improper in this connection to observe that the Government trains, which were fitted up at Fort Leavenworth, were dispatched upon the road in companies of 25 or 30 wagons, irrespective of the marches of the different detachments of troops. It therefore often happened that some portions of the Army, for short periods of time, were destitute of supplies upon the road. Each of these trains of wagons had a superintendent general, or wagon master, and the wagoners were well armed, so that there was no need of an escort or guard, as these brave and hardy teamsters were at all times prepared to fight their own battles against the Indians who beset the roads for plunder.”<sup>8</sup>

At the Little Arkansas: “While at this camp an express arrived from the two detachments immediately under command of Cols. Doniphan and Kearney, representing them as being in a starving condition, and calling upon Lieut. Col. Ruff to furnish them with such portion of his provisions as could be spared. Lieut. Col. Ruff, being destitute himself, and having, as already noticed, sent an express to Pawnee Fork for supplies, directed the expressmen from Col. Kearney to proceed thither and bring to a halt such a number of provision wagons as would be sufficient for the three detachments. One of these expressmen, A. E. Hughes, in attempting to swim the Pawnee River at that time very much swollen by the recent freshets, was drowned. His corpse was afterwards found floating in the stream, and was taken and buried with appropriate military honors.”<sup>9</sup>

The soldiers reached the provision train at Pawnee Fork and ate well again.

Farther west, July 23: “The Army again becoming scant of provisions

Lieut. Sublette with four men was sent in advance to bring to a halt a train of commissary wagons. This order was promptly put into execution by Lieut. Sublette, notwithstanding the wagons were much farther upon the road than was anticipated. Taking with him but two days' rations and being out seven, he and his party were compelled to travel night and day to escape starvation."<sup>10</sup> Couldn't they have shot some game?

Bent's Fort: "It has been converted into a Government depot. Here a great many of the Government wagons were unloaded and sent back to Fort Leavenworth for additional supplies. Here also the caravans of traders awaited the arrival of the Army, thenceforward to move under the wing of its protection."<sup>11</sup>

Raton Pass, August 7: "This day's march was extremely arduous and severe on our teams. Rough roads and rocky hills obstructed our progress. The wagons were often hauled up the abrupt and declivitous spurs of the mountains by means of ropes, and in the same manner let down on the opposite side."<sup>12</sup>

Susan Shelby Magoffin, traveling with her husband and a traders' caravan, explained in some detail the difficulties of negotiated Raton Pass. The army did some work on the road to make it somewhat easier for wagons to go through, but it was a difficult task.<sup>13</sup>

With a shortage of provisions for the army, because some of the supply trains had not reached Bent's Fort before the troops left there, Hughes reported: "From this time on to Santa Fe we were actually compelled to subsist on about one-third rations."<sup>14</sup>

Later Hughes provided a critical assessment of the military supply trains: "Gen. Kearney's army was not well provisioned; nor was it furnished, in all its parts, with stout, able, and efficient teams, such as the difficult nature of the country over which it had to pass required. The commissary and quartermaster departments were wretchedly managed. During much of the time, owing either to the neglect or incompetency of the heads of these departments, the general found it necessary to subsist his men on half ra-



"An Army Train Crossing the Plains," *Harper's Weekly*, April 24, 1858.

tions. It repeatedly happened that the wagons, particularly of the volunteer corps, were left so far behind during a day's march that they did not come into camp before midnight. Thus the men had to feast or famish by turns, owing to the gross and culpable neglect of government agents. The volunteer troops were furnished with very sorry and indifferent wagons and teams, wholly inadequate for such an expedition, whilst the regulars were furnished in the very best manner."<sup>15</sup>

Despite such criticism, it must be noted that the troops were not delayed and that the outcome of the march of the Army of the West was much more successful than anticipated. The army's attempts at freighting had worked, although there were problems (as Hughes pointed out) and the system proved to be very expensive. What the military supply trains accomplished was impressive. Quartermaster General Jesup reported that 459 horses, 3,658 mules, 14,904 oxen, 1,556 wagons, and 516 pack saddles had been provided for Kearney's expedition and those who followed him over the Santa Fe Trail.<sup>16</sup>

The peaceful conquest of New Mexico (far beyond the purpose of my presentation) was a remarkable achievement for Kearney and the Army of the West. Please let me stray from my subject briefly to look at Kearney's arrival in Las Vegas and to quote from his speech delivered there. As John Hughes concluded, "The kind treatment the Americans uniformly extended toward those people is worthy of the highest praise."<sup>17</sup>

On the morning of August 15 at eight o'clock in the morning General Kearney and staff rode into the Las Vegas plaza, where he was met by the alcalde, Don Juan de Dios Maes, and a large crowd of citizens. Kearney and the alcalde, with others of their

staffs, climbed atop an adobe building on the north side of the plaza, from which Kearney addressed the people:

"Mr. Alcalde and people of New Mexico: I have come amongst you by the orders of my government, to take possession of your country and extend over it the laws of the United States. We consider it, and have done so for some time, a part of the territory of the United States. We come amongst you as friends, not as enemies; as protectors, not as conquerors. We come among you for your benefit, not for your injury.

"... I am your governor. I shall not expect you to take up arms and follow me to fight your own people who oppose me; but I tell you now, that those who remain peaceably at home, attending to their crops and their herds, shall be protected by me in their property, their persons and their religion; and not a pepper, not an onion shall be disturbed by my troops without pay, or by consent of the owner. But listen! He who promises to be quiet and is found in arms against me, I will hang."

I think Kearney's "not a pepper, not an onion" speech, which is now quoted on a sign in Las Vegas plaza, deserves to be repeated often.

It should be noted that the U.S. soldiers did buy food and other supplies from the people of New Mexico. Second Lieutenant George R. Gibson, Missouri volunteer infantry, recorded in October 1846, "Santa Fe is completely eaten out—scarcely a red pepper is to be found in the market."

By October the military supply trains were coming from Bent's Fort to Santa Fe at the rate of 30 per week, and it was reported that there were 140 tons of provisions stored at Bent's Fort by the end of October, all carried there by the military supply trains. As near as can be determined, it appears that some supply trains made round trips from Fort Leavenworth to Bent's Fort while other supply trains made the round trips from Bent's Fort to Santa Fe. Later, the military supply trains did not offload at Bent's Fort but traveled directly to Santa Fe from Fort Leavenworth, some following the Cimarron Route. While Kearney's army had suffered from shortages during portions of the march, the troops stationed in New Mexico were well supplied by



October.

But this was accomplished at great expense. According to Wyman: "The cost of all this was excessive. Pork was purchased in St. Louis for \$10 per barrel. The cost of it transported from Fort Leavenworth to Bent's Fort, was more than \$32 per barrel. From there to Santa Fe the cost was \$18 per barrel. By adding the original price to the cost of transportation, a barrel of pork cost \$50 in Santa Fe [according to the *Missouri Republican*]. As the St. Louis *New Era* commented, 'the dear people pay.'"

Wyman continued: "The new and quite abnormal traffic in the bustling days of 1846 demanded scores of teamsters and wagons. Wagons came from Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and were also purchased from anybody who had one to sell. Many young men who had rushed to the frontier for the purpose of enlisting in the Army of the West found that source of enlistment closed, hence they joined the ranks of the army teamsters. This type of service paid from \$25 to \$30 per month, including subsistence, while ordinary soldiers received but \$7 for the same period of service on regular duty. . . . These men were not accustomed to handling several yoke of oxen or teams of mules over a desolate plain, contesting the right of way with Comanche and Pawnee. Neither did they know how to care for the animals. Lieut. J. W. Abert complained that teamsters mistreated cattle and wagons. The road from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe was strewn, it was said, with 'about \$5,000,000 worth of U.S. government supplies; the bones of cattle, and in many place the drivers, lie side by side—a melancholy result, brought about alone by inexperience.' Innumerable wagons lay amidst a 'grievous waste of provisions.'"<sup>18</sup>

To Kearny, it appeared that the occupation of New Mexico would remain peaceful (the uprising that occurred was not anticipated by him), and he made plans to march on to California. Colonel Doniphan was left in charge of the troops until reinforcements arrived under Sterling Price, at which time Doniphan's Missouri volunteers were to march to Chihuahua. Also the Mormon Battalion followed Kearny to California

under the leadership of Philip St. George Cooke. All these forces had to be supplied.

Kearny left Santa Fe on September 25 with some 300 Dragoons and a party of topographical engineers. They started out with provisions for 65 days and their baggage carried in wagons pulled by mules. Later, when he was about 150 miles from Santa Fe, Kearny received word from California that the region was under U.S. control. Hearing this, Kearny left 200 of the Dragoons in New Mexico and pushed on with 100. He also decided that the wagons would slow him down, and he proceeded with pack mules (and we will hear more about pack mules from Susan Boyle). Remember that Kearny had brought no pack saddles from Fort Leavenworth, where there was a good supply, and pack saddles had to be acquired in New Mexico for his trip. Kearny's troops did meet resistance in California but reached San Diego on December 12, having marched 1,050 miles from Santa Fe in eleven weeks.

Although it takes us beyond the Santa Fe Trail, I think a little bit of the rest of the story regarding supply deserves to be mentioned. When Kearny arrived at San Diego, there were no supplies to be had for the army and the navy was also running short. Kearny sent his quartermaster, Major Swords, to the Sandwich Islands (which we know as Hawaii today) in a naval ship to obtain funds and supplies for the army and the navy. Supplies were obtained and brought back to California. So remember Kearny's Army reached all the way from Fort Leavenworth to Hawaii.

In Santa Fe Quartermaster McKissack had to find transportation for the Mormon Battalion's continuation to California. When the Battalion left Santa Fe on October 19 with a total of 397 volunteers and those who accompanied them, each of the five companies had three wagons drawn by mules and six wagons pulled by oxen. In addition there were four wagons pulled by mules for the officers, quartermaster, hospital department, and the paymaster. There were also some privately-owned wagons in the caravan. The Battalion was furnished rations for 60 days. It was a very difficult trip,

during which they laid out Cooke's Wagon Road to California, and the Mormon Battalion reached San Diego at the end of January 1847.

McKissack was able to provide the necessary equipment and supplies for Kearny's troops, the Mormon Battalion, and Doniphan's Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, and he was able to sustain the troops left in New Mexico, almost entirely with materials transported by military supply trains over the Santa Fe Trail.

Military supply trains continued to bring provisions from Fort Leavenworth, and there were reports that wagons were arriving in Santa Fe on a daily basis before winter weather and Indian resistance combined to shut down much of the operation. It needs to be emphasized again that, from this point on, military supplies became the dominant portion of materials freighted westward on the Santa Fe Trail.

By late fall of 1846 Indians on the Plains were increasing attacks on the military supply trains. During the winter some supply trains were stopped by snowstorms. The cost of transporting supplies over the Santa Fe Trail increased rapidly. Captain McKissack reported that much of the cost was the result of "gross carelessness of the teamsters," and he noted that the military supply trains were losing 30 oxen for each ox lost by civilian wagon trains. McKissack decided that any military supply train that lost more than 100 oxen between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe would result in the wagonmaster losing his pay, which would be taken to help cover the losses. Indians were another problem.

There were few contacts with Plains Indians by Kearny's Army of the West and the supply trains that accompanied it. The supply trains that followed the troops became objects for raids by several Plains tribes. The situation was explained by Hughes: "In the spring of 1847 the Indians, principally the Pawnees and Comanches, infested the Santa Fe road, committed repeated depredations on the Government trains, fearlessly attacked the escorts, killed and drove off great numbers of horses, mules, and oxen belonging to the Government, and in several instances overpowered and slew or captured many of our people. They

openly declared that they would cut off all communication between the Western States and New Mexico and capture and enslave every American who might venture to pass the plains."<sup>19</sup>

Wyman reported that Mexico encouraged Comanche raids of the supply trains: "The Comanches told that they were advanced large droves of horses and mules as well as considerable money by the Mexicans. In return they were to kill Americans and destroy all their property [*St. Louis Reveille*, Aug. 30, 1847]."<sup>20</sup> There were other reports that the government of Mexico had encouraged the Comanches to attack the supply trains, offering them all the property they captured plus additional payments from Mexico for successful raids. There were many attacks.

Quartermaster General Jesup declared in his annual report for 1847:

"There is a great difficulty in keeping up the supplies for the troops in New Mexico. The Indians of the plains have committed many depredations on the trains; they have driven off all the cattle of some of them, and have killed many of the drivers. Unless an imposing mounted force be employed against them, and they be severely chastised, it will soon be impossible to send supplies on that route."<sup>21</sup>

During the spring of 1847 the quartermaster department established a small fort not far from the Caches west of present Dodge City. Named Fort Mann to honor Captain Daniel P. Mann, a master teamster, who established and oversaw the initial building of the post, which was not a garrison for troops but a safe haven and blacksmith repair shop for government supply trains (which also served private traders on the Trail). It was not designed as a base for military operations or quarters for escort troops; it was established as a depot where government wagons could be repaired, having a blacksmith shop, wheelwright shop, and storage rooms, and where teamsters and livestock could rest in safety from Indian threats. A small force of government employees was hired to help some teamsters build, operate, and protect it. Lewis H. Garrard gave a vivid description of Fort Mann, where he worked for a short time, in his wonderful book,

*Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail*. The little post was abandoned in June 1847 but was reoccupied a short time later with a garrison of troops raised specifically to deal with the Indian threats to government supply trains on the Santa Fe Trail.

The story of the Indian Battalion, comprised of five companies of Missouri volunteers serving for one year under Lieutenant Colonel William Gilpin, is beyond the scope of my assignment today, but these troops did garrison Fort Mann during the autumn, winter, and spring, 1847-1848, and they did provide much-needed protection for the government supply trains as well as private traders.<sup>22</sup>

Gilpin gathered all the information he could find about losses to Indians during the summer of 1847: American losses were estimated at 47 men killed, 330 wagons destroyed, and 6,500 head of stock stolen. Most of these losses had been suffered by the government supply trains, many of which were manned by men without experience in freighting. Gilpin was able to declare in August 1848: "The active operations of the battalion have . . . been constant and successful. The Indians inhabiting the waters of the Arkansas river have . . . been either held in peace or effectually defeated."<sup>23</sup>

Gilpin kept track of traffic on the Santa Fe Trail during the months he was out with the Indian Battalion and estimated that traffic included 3,000 wagons, 12,000 people, and 50,000 head of livestock. By that time the Mexican War had ended, and the army was ready to turn the freighting of supplies over to private contractors.

Wyman explained: "During the Mexican War the quartermaster's department transported most of the supplies for troops in New Mexico. Perhaps it was the waste and inefficiency of this war-time experience which caused the government to make greater use of the contract system for overland transportation."<sup>24</sup>

Risch concluded: "During the Mexican War, the Quartermaster's Department had operated its own wagon trains on the Santa Fe Trail. That experience had fully shown the disadvantages of using government-owned wagons. Quartermasters

found it difficult to hire experienced wagonmasters and teamsters, and none of the pleas made by Jesup and other Quartermaster officers, then or later, induced Congress to enlist a service corps. The cost of forage was high; wagons required repairs; equipment had to be replaced; extra animals had to be kept on hand to replace those worn out; and animals had also to be fed and cared for during the winter months when freighting was suspended. . . . Jesup was soon convinced that the system of transporting military stores by government trains was not only more expensive but also more complicated and troublesome than hiring private wagons."<sup>25</sup>

By the end of the war in 1848, the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, Captain Langdon Easton, estimated that it cost the army \$14.75 per hundred pounds to transport provisions from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe. That rate included the weight of the containers, such as barrels or boxes, as well as the contents. As was true of all wagon transportation during any time and place in history, the cost of transportation exceeded the value of commissary supplies when the commodities were carried farther than a hundred miles.

When the war ended, Congress was ready to cut expenditures, including support for the reduced size of the army. The quartermaster department decided that the army attempts at freighting on the Santa Fe Trail might be more expensive than contract freighters. In May 1848 the first of a series of contracts was signed with James Brown of Independence, Missouri, to deliver 200,000 pounds of supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe for \$11.75 per hundred pounds (note that was \$3.00 per hundred less than Easton estimated the military supply trains were costing). The contract specified that Brown had 65 days to complete delivery. Brown also was offered 120 army wagons and other equipment at cost.<sup>26</sup>

Later that same year, when the volunteers marched back over the Santa Fe Trail at the end of their service, private freighters were contracted to carry their baggage and equipment at the rate of \$8.00 per hundred pounds from Las Vegas or \$6.00 per hundred from Point of



Rocks. The rate was cheaper for east-bound freight because many wagon trains returned to Missouri without a payload.

The quartermaster department reported that the use of contract freighters was an improvement over the military supply trains, but those military supply trains had been an emergency system required by the exigencies of a war that required quick action.

By 1850 contract freighters carried more than five times the quantity of military supplies from Fort Leavenworth than were carried by military supply trains. The system of contract freight for military supplies continued thereafter, replacing the attempts of army freighting that had, of necessity, served the wartime army well, although at great expense. The army was not organized to engage in overland freighting, which could be handled more efficiently and at less expense by private contractors. Craig Crease will tell you much more about that next stage in the evolution of freighting on the Santa Fe Trail.

Risch concluded: "So effectively did the [Quartermaster] Department contribute to the support of the armies in the field [during the Mexican War] that the commanding generals achieved a series of brilliant victories. . . . The success of Jesup's well-organized Department was achieved despite the handicaps imposed by unpreparedness for war."<sup>27</sup>

The United States acquired nearly 3/5 of Mexico at the conclusion of the war, expanding the size of the United States and making it a two-ocean nation. During that accomplishment, as Paxson declared nearly a century ago, "Kearny's baggage train started a new era in Plains freighting." The army's attempts at freighting during the Mexican War is an interesting phase in the evolution of freighting on the Santa Fe Trail.

#### Notes

1. Stephen G. Hyslop, *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
2. See Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps, 1775-1939* (Washington: Office of the Quartermaster General, 1962).
3. Frederic L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 67.

4. Walker D. Wyman, "The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 1 (November 1932): 415-416.
5. Mark L. Gardner and Marc Simmons, eds., *The Mexican War Correspondence of Richard Smith Elliott* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 41, 43.
6. John Taylor Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition* (1847; reprint, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), 20, 21.
7. *Ibid.*, 25.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, 26.
10. *Ibid.*, 31.
11. *Ibid.*, 33.
12. *Ibid.*, 36.
13. Susan Shelby Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico*, ed. by Stella M. Drumm (1926; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 82-84.
14. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 37.
15. *Ibid.*, 44.
16. Thomas Jesup to William L. Marcy, November 24, 1847, House Exec. Doc. 8, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 545.
17. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 45.
18. Wyman, "Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting," 418.
19. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 200.
20. Wyman, "Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting," 420.
21. Jesup to Marcy, November 24, 1847, House Exec. Doc. 8, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 545.
22. For history of the Indian Battalion, see Leo E. Oliva, "Missouri Volunteers on the Santa Fe Trail," *The Trail Guide*, Kansas City Posse of the Westerners (June & Sept. 1970).
23. William Gilpin to Roger Jones, August 1, 1848, House Exec. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 2 sess., 136-137, 139.
24. Wyman, "Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting," 424.
25. Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army*, 308-309.
26. Sen. Exec. Doc. 26, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 26.
27. Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army*, 237.

#### FRANKLIN MARKER PROJECT

FORMER SFTA President Hal Jackson was authorized by the SFTA board to develop and install interpretive signs at the site of Franklin, MO, where the Trail began in 1821. Funds are solicited for this project which is to be completed in time for the 2009 symposium. The SFTA Last Chance Store is matching donations up to a total of \$3750 to fund the signs. All donors to this project will be recognized at the 2009 symposium.

#### FORT ATKINSON REPRINT

THE Wet/Dry Routes Chapter is pleased to announce the reprint of another publication, *Fort Atkinson*

*on the Santa Fe Trail, 1850-1854*. Written by Leo E. Oliva and published in the Summer 1974 issue of *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, the article complements the other books written by Dr. Oliva concerning U. S. Army posts in frontier Kansas. Special thanks to the Kansas State Historical Society for permission to reproduce this article. The 24-page booklet is available from the Last Chance Store for \$3 postpaid. Order online at <[www.lastchancestore.org](http://www.lastchancestore.org)> or call 888-3212-7341.

#### THE CACHES -MUSEUM NEWS-

Paula Manini, editor

This column lists events and news from Trail sites, museums, and related organizations. Please send information following the format below. Be sure to include your address, phone number, and e-mail. The next column will list hours and activities scheduled for March through May. To be included, send information to Paula Manini at the Trinidad History Museum (see below) by January 15, 2009. Also, please send news and changes regarding e-mail addresses, contact information, and open hours.

#### Arthur Roy Mitchell Memorial Museum of Western Art

150 East Main St  
Trinidad CO 81082  
Telephone: 719-846-4224

E-mail: [mitchellmuseum@qwest.net](mailto:mitchellmuseum@qwest.net)

- Enjoy artwork of Trinidad native A. R. Mitchell, other Western artists, Hispanic folk art, Indian artifacts, and cowboy gear.
- October-April: Bookstore open on Friday & Saturday. Museum available only for large groups with reservations. Admission charged.

#### Arrow Rock State Historic Site Friends of Arrow Rock

PO Box 124  
Arrow Rock MO 65320  
Telephone: 660-837-3231 or 3330  
E-mail: [kborgman@iland.net](mailto:kborgman@iland.net)  
Websites: [www.arrowrock.org](http://www.arrowrock.org);  
[www.mostateparks.com/arrowrock.htm](http://www.mostateparks.com/arrowrock.htm)

- Call for information.

#### Barton County Museum & Village PO Box 1091

Great Bend KS 67530  
Telephone: 620-793-5125  
Website: [www.bartoncountymuseum.org](http://www.bartoncountymuseum.org)

- Open Wednesday-Friday, 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; Saturday, 1-5 p.m. Group tours available by reservation.

**Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site**  
**35110 Highway 194 East**  
**La Junta CO 81050**  
**Telephone: 719-383-5010**  
**E-mail: rick\_wallner@nps.gov**  
**Website: www.nps.gov/beol**

- Winter hours: 9 a.m.-4 p.m. daily (closed Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day).
- December 5-6: Holiday Celebration. Witness the joys, pleasures, and pastimes of the 1840s at an isolated trading post, including wagon rides, games, toy making, and other festivities, with evening candlelight tours. For reservations for the evening tours, phone 719-383-5026.

**Boggsville Historic Site**

**PO Box 68**  
**Las Animas CO 81054**  
**Telephone: 719-456-1358**  
**E-mail: boggsville67@yahoo.com**  
**Website: www.bentcounty.org/sites/andcelebrations/historic/htm**  
 Contact Boggsville for information.

**Boot Hill Museum**  
**Front Street**  
**Dodge City KS 67801**  
**Telephone: 620-227-8188**  
**E-mail: frontst@pld.com**  
**Website: www.boothill.org**

- Museum: Call for hours.
- Boot Hill Cemetery, Boot Hill, & Front Street: Open Monday-Saturday 9:00-5:00 and Sunday 1:00-5:00.
- Santa Fe Trail Ruts nine miles west of Dodge City on US Hwy 400; markers and observation point. Open during daylight hours.

**Cimarron Heritage Center Museum**  
**1300 N Cimarron**  
**PO Box 214**

**Boise City OK 73933**  
**Telephone: 580-544-3479**  
**E-mail: museum@ptsi.net**  
**Website: www.ptsi.net/users/museum**  
 • Open Monday-Saturday, 10 a.m.-12 p.m. and 1-4 p.m., except major holidays.

**Cimarron Recreation Area**  
**Cimarron National Grassland**  
**PO Box 300**

**242 E Highway 56**  
**Elkhart KS 67950**  
**Telephone: 620-697-4621**  
**E-mail: sharilbutler@fs.fed.us**  
**Website: www.fs.fed.us/r2/psicc/cim**  
 • Call for information or visit the web site.

**Citizens Committee for Historic Preservation**

**127 Bridge Street**  
**PO Box 728**  
**Las Vegas NM 87701**  
**Telephone: 505-425-8802**  
**E-mail: historic@cybermesa.com**

**Website: www.lasvegasnmcchp.com**

• Call for information.  
**Coronado Quivira Museum**  
**Rice County Historical Society**  
**105 West Lyon**  
**Lyons KS 67554**  
**Telephone: 620-257-3941**  
**E-mail: cqmuseum@hotmail.com**  
 • Call for information.

**Fort Union National Monument**  
**PO Box 127**  
**Watrous NM 87753**  
**Telephone: 505-425-8025**  
**E-mail: Claudette\_Norman@nps.gov**  
**Website: www.nps.gov/foun**

- Open daily except for major holidays. Located 8 miles north of Interstate 25 at the end of NM Highway 161.
- Self-guided interpretive trails (1.6 mile and .5 mile) through the ruins. Guided tours by request; groups of ten or more people need advance reservations.

**Friends of Arrow Rock**  
**309 Main**  
**Arrow Rock MO 65320**  
**Telephone: 660-837-3231**  
**E-mail: kborgman@iland.net**  
**Websites: www.friendsar.org; www.arrowrock.org**  
 • Call for information.

**Gas and Historical Museum**  
**Stevens County Historical Society**  
**PO Box 87**  
**Hugoton KS 67951**  
**Telephone: 620-544-8751**  
**E-mail: svcomus@pld.com**  
 • Call for information.

**Grant County Chamber of Commerce**  
**113-B South Main**  
**Ulysses KS 67880**  
**Telephone: 620-356-4700**  
**Website: www.ulysseschamber.org**  
 • Call for information.

**Herzstein Memorial Museum**  
**Union County Historical Society**  
**PO Box 75 (2nd & Walnut Sts.)**  
**Clayton NM 88415**  
**Telephone: 505-374-2977**  
**E-mail: uchs@plateautel.net**  
 • Call for information.

**Highway of Legends Scenic & Historic Byway**  
**PO Box 377**  
**Trinidad CO 81082**  
**Telephone: 719-846-7217**  
**Website: www.sangres.com**

- Enjoy spectacular scenery, historic towns, and museums along Highway 12. Stop at Marion and Richard Russell's beloved Stonewall at the base of a sandstone wall.
- From Cordova Pass trailhead, hike in the Spanish Peaks Wilderness Area and experience Trail

landmarks up close.

**Historic Adobe Museum**  
**PO Box 909 (300 E Oklahoma)**  
**Ulysses, KS 67880**  
**Telephone: 620-356-3009**  
**E-mail: ulyksmus@pld.com**  
 • Call for information.

**Historic Trinidad**  
**City of Trinidad Tourism Board**  
**PO Box 880**  
**Trinidad, CO 81082**  
**Website: www.historictrinidad.com**

- Trinidad's Main Street, on the Santa Fe National Historic Trail Auto Route, has shopping and dining in an acclaimed national historic district. Enjoy self-guided tours of the nearby Purgatoire River Walk.
- January-November: Visit the Louden-Henritze Archaeology Museum at Trinidad State Junior College. Open 10 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday-Thursday.

**Jefferson Nat. Expansion Memorial**  
**11 N Fourth Street**  
**St. Louis, MO 63102**  
**Telephone: 314-655-1631**  
**E-mail: tom\_dewey@partner.nps.gov**  
**Website: www.nps.gov/jeff**

- Visit the Gateway Arch, Museum of Westward Expansion, and Old Courthouse. This National Park Service site commemorates St. Louis's role in westward expansion during the 1800s and honors individuals such as Dred and Harriet Scott who sued for their freedom in the Old Courthouse.
- Free ranger-led and special museum programs. Fees charged for the tram ride to the top of the Gateway Arch and films in the visitor center.

**Kearny County Museum**  
**11 N Fourth St**  
**Lakin, KS 67860**  
**Telephone: 620-355-7448**  
**E-mail: kchs@pld.com**

- Open Tuesday-Friday, 9 a.m.-12 p.m., and Sunday 1-4 p.m. Closed major holidays.
- The main museum features a Conestoga wagon and attractions from 1872 to the future. The complex also has Lakin's oldest house, a one-room schoolhouse, train depot, 12-sided barn, and a machinery building.
- West of Lakin is Chouteau's Island, Indian Mound, and Bluff Station. Approximately 3 miles east, wagon ruts can be seen at "Charlie's Ruts" site.

**Koshare Museum**



**Otero State Junior College**  
 115 West 18th Street  
 La Junta, CO 81050  
 Telephone: 719-385-4411  
 Website: [www.koshare.org](http://www.koshare.org)

- Call for information.
- Trading Post: online at [koshare.org](http://koshare.org).

**Las Vegas Museum**  
 727 Grand Ave  
 Las Vegas NM 87701  
 Telephone: 505-454-1401, ext. 248  
 E-mail: [lgegick@desertgate.com](mailto:lgegick@desertgate.com)

- Call for information.

**Morton County Hist. Society Museum**  
 370 E Highway 56 (PO Box 1248)  
 Elkhart KS 67950  
 Telephone: 620-697-2833 or 4390  
 E-mail: [mtcomuseum@elkhart.com](mailto:mtcomuseum@elkhart.com)

- The museum is a Santa Fe National Historic Trail official interpretive facility.
- Winter hours: Tuesday-Friday, 1-5 p.m., weekends by appointment.

**National Frontier Trails Museum**  
 318 W Pacific St  
 Independence MO 64050  
 Telephone: 816-325-7575  
 E-mail: [rwedwards@indepmmo.org](mailto:rwedwards@indepmmo.org)  
 Website: [frontiertrailsmuseum.org](http://frontiertrailsmuseum.org)

- Thursdays in November (except Thanksgiving): "Encounter with American Indians on the Trails" gallery talk included in museum admission.
- November 1, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.: Holiday shopping with stocking stuffers, special discounts, door prizes, and a drawing for a gift basket.
- November 15, 10 a.m.: "Corn Husk Doll Making Workshop" for ages 10-adult, \$7 per person, reservations required.
- December 6, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.: Welcome the season with wagon rides, cider, and cookies. Regular museum admission charged.
- December 6, 11 a.m.-1 p.m.: "Laura Ingalls Wilder Remembers Christmases Past" by actress Nancy Eppert. Adults \$7, children ages 6-17 \$5.
- December 31, 10 a.m.: "Pack Your Wagon" children's hands-on workshop. \$5 per child, reservations required.

**Otero Museum**  
 706 W. Third St.  
 La Junta, CO 81050  
 Telephone: 719-384-7500  
 Cell phone: 719-980-3193  
 E-mail: [oteromuseum@centurytel.net](mailto:oteromuseum@centurytel.net)

- November 11, 11:30 a.m. Dedic-

tion of the Veterans Monument to America's veterans at the museum complex near the Old Log School. The museum is open during and after the ceremony.

**Santa Fe Trail Center Museum & Library**  
 1349 K-156 Hwy  
 Larned, KS 67550

Telephone: 620-285-2054  
 E-mail: [museum@santafetrailcenter.org](mailto:museum@santafetrailcenter.org)

Website: [www.santafetrailcenter.org](http://www.santafetrailcenter.org)

- Open Daily, 9 a.m.-5 p.m.; closed Mondays until Memorial Day.
- The new Farm & Auto Addition was dedicated and officially opened on October 11, 2008.
- January 25: Celebrate Kansas Day with a program at 2:00 p.m. And free admission to the museum galleries all day.

**Santa Fe Trail Scenic & Historic Byway**  
 PO Box 118

Trinidad CO 81082

Telephone: 719-846-2396

E-mail: [Wyvonne@hughes.net](mailto:Wyvonne@hughes.net)

Website: [www.santafetrailco.com](http://www.santafetrailco.com)

- Follow the Mountain Route from Lamar and the Great Plains to the summit of Raton Pass to enjoy a variety of historic sites, museums, and communities.

**South Platte Valley Historical Society**  
 PO Box 633

Fort Lupton CO 80621

Telephone: 303-857-2123

Website: [www.spvhs.org](http://www.spvhs.org)

- Call ahead to visit the Donelson Homestead House, 1875 Independence School, and the Fort Lupton Museum. Call for addresses and hours.

**Trinidad History Museum**  
 (Colorado Historical Society)

312 E Main (PO Box 377)

Trinidad CO 81082

Telephone: 719-846-7217

E-mail: [paula.manini@chs.state.co.us](mailto:paula.manini@chs.state.co.us)

Website: [www.coloradohistory.org](http://www.coloradohistory.org)

- Through April 30: Baca House, Bloom Mansion, and Santa Fe Trail Museum available for large group tours with reservations. Baca-Bloom Heritage Gardens open Monday-Friday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m., for free walking tours (closed holidays).
- December 6, 10 a.m.-2 p.m.: Decked out in his Victorian finery, Santa Claus visits the Bloom Mansion. Take your own photos. Free event.
- December 1-24: Bookstore open Monday-Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

## CAMP TALES

### —CHAPTER REPORTS—

#### Cimarron Cutoff

President Leon Ellis  
 PO Box 668  
 Elkhart KS 67950  
 (620) 697-2517 (home), -4321 (work)  
[<leonellis@elkhart.com>](mailto:leonellis@elkhart.com)

The summer chapter meeting at the Hoot Owl Ranch, Kenton, OK, was attended by 21 members and guests. The chapter has 50 members. Following a meal served by ranch owners Terry and George Collins, the group had a guided tour of pictographs and writings along the sandstone walls of the ranch canyon.

The chapter met at the Herzstein Memorial Museum in Clayton, NM, October 11, with a program by SFTA Vice-President John Atkinson, "The Life and Times of William Bent."

#### Wagon Bed Spring

President Jeff Trotman  
 PO Box 1005  
 Ulysses KS 67880  
 (620) 356-1854  
[<swpb@pld.com>](mailto:swpb@pld.com)

The chapter met in Hugoton at the Stevens County Gas & Historical Museum, October 10, with a soup supper, business meeting, and program by SFTA Vice-President John Atkinson, "The Life and Times of William Bent."

On October 17 the chapter presented two programs at Lower Cimarron Springs (Wagon Bed), one at 7 p.m. and the second at 11 p.m. Participants heard accounts of Santa Fe Trail notables as they approached the Lower Cimarron Springs, including journal accounts from George Sibley and Joesph Brown 1825, Josiah Gregg 1831, Jedediah Smith 1831, Joyce family oral history of spring location 1895, and the local legend of the Indian chief that holds secrets about Lower Cimarron Springs.

#### Heart of the Flint Hills

President Carol L. Retzer  
 4215 E 245th St  
 Lyndon KS 66451  
 (785) 828-3739  
[<carolretzer@direcway.com>](mailto:carolretzer@direcway.com)

The chapter has finally reached some of its goals.

We are delighted to report that the Wilmington School is now on the Kansas Register of Historic Sites. The application was approved May 3

after many, many years of hard work by several chapter members. I want to thank each of you who have given so much of your time and effort.

On October 4 we dedicated the flag pole that had been erected at Wilmington. About 30 horseback riders travelled to the school to enjoy lunch and an informal ceremony as we raised the flag. It was wonderful to see our Nation's flag flying above the grounds again—it has been a very long time. We have done extensive work on the school grounds and the flag brought the whole place to life once again.

The chapter is also working with the Schuyler Museum board and the Burlingame city council to develop a driving-route brochure for the Burlingame area. We plan to have it to press in time for March 2009 distribution. It is exciting to join with other like-minded people in a common goal of historical preservation.

#### **End of the Trail**

La Alcaldesa Joy Poole  
125 W Lupita Rd  
Santa Fe NM 87505  
(505) 820-7828  
<amusejoy@aol.com>

No report.

#### **Corazón de los Caminos**

President Faye Gaines  
HCR 60 Box 27  
Springer NM 87747  
(505) 485-2473

No report.

#### **Wet/Dry Routes**

President David Clapsaddle  
215 Mann  
Larned KS 67550  
(620) 285-3295  
<adsaddle@cox.net>

The chapter met October 19 at the Episcopal Church in Larned. Following a tasty meal served by the Ladies Auxiliary of the church, business was conducted. A letter from SFTA President VanCoevern was read, thanking the chapter for its participation in the Rendezvous, serving the meal, and providing the exhibits. New members, Ed Haremza and Bill and Opal Macy were recognized. Reports were given regarding Sibley's Camp, Zebulon Pike Plaza, and the reprint of Leo. Oliva's "Fort Atkinson on the Santa Fe Trail 1850-1854."

Following the business session, David Clapsaddle presented the pro-

gram "Henry Booth, Citizen Soldier."

The winter meeting is scheduled for January 18, 2009, 1:15 p.m., Municipal Building, Kinsley, KS. Entrée, drinks, and table service will be provided.

#### **Dodge City/Fort Dodge/Cimarron**

President Jim Sherer  
1908 La Mesa Dr  
Dodge City KS 67801  
(620) 227-7377  
<sherer@cjnetworks.com>

On October 5 the chapter met at Warner Grove northeast of Dodge City, located on the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Road, with 11 people present. Jack Warner reported on the Rendezvous at Larned.

President Sherer reported on the rut site enhancement project to make some repairs and add additional interpretive signs at the site west of Dodge City, funded by the National Park Service.

The SFTA governing board will meet in Dodge City April 18, 2009. The chapter will help host the meeting.

Recently the chapter lost two members, Jr. Hoskinson and Keith Chadd. Jr. was known for his cowboy attire, and Keith was active in the chapter for many years. They will be missed.

Jack Warner presented a program relating experiences of soldiers and traders who traveled the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge-Fort Supply Road in the 1860s. George Custer moved up and down this trail and camped at a location along the Sawlog Creek during his campaign into present Oklahoma.

The group then enjoyed a potluck meal and visited the rut site of the Fort Dodge-Fort Hays Road on the Warner Ranch. We also saw the northeast corner marker for the Fort Dodge Military reservation. This area provided stone and wood for the fort's permanent buildings plus wood for heating and cooking. We thank the Warner family for their hospitality and their long and continued efforts to preserve our history.

#### **Missouri River Outfitters**

President Roger Slusher  
1421 South St  
Lexington MO 64067  
(660) 259-2900  
<rlusher@yahoo.com>

On August 21 chapter members

joined in celebration of the renovation of Gardner Junction Park which interprets the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California trails.

Kansas City, Missouri, has committed itself to a network of interlocking greenways, with hard-surface trails running through strips of vegetation. Recent ground-breaking events kicked off the development of the Santa Fe Trail greenway in the vicinity of Avila University.

In addition to posts placed in previous years, MRO has placed six additional stone Santa Fe Trail posts on the early Trail route in Missouri.

MRO was saddened by the recent deaths of longtime member and historian Judy Johnson of Buckner, and trail enthusiast Freida Slusher, mother of Roger Slusher.

#### **Quivira**

President Linda Colle  
PO Box 1105  
McPherson KS 67460  
(620) 241-3800  
<blkcolle@swbell.net>

On October 4 the chapter visited Ellinwood, celebrating its Folks Fest, and had a program by Robert Yarmer at the Comanche Cemetery about colorful characters who lived and died in the early days of the town.

#### **Cottonwood Crossing**

President Steve Schmidt  
1120 Cobblestone Ct  
McPherson KS 67460  
(620) 245-0715  
<wfordok@yahoo.com>

The chapter has received a \$1,000 grant from the SFTA marker committee for moving and resetting the 100-year-old marker at Lost Spring.

Our chapter met at Galva on September 11, with Joanne VanCoevern and Harry Myers as special guests. Myers spoke about early Spanish trails in southwestern U.S. and Mexico.

On October 19 the chapter had a wiener roast and "Smores" at Kent and Ginger Becker's. Dr. Gil Michel spoke to us about the Chisholm Trail.

On November 11 we plan to meet in Galva, with dinner at the Kountry Kafe at 6 p.m. and a program at the community room at 7 p.m.

#### **Bent's Fort**

President Pat Palmer



PO Box 628  
Lamar CO 81052  
(719) 931-4323

On July 19, 2008, the chapter hosted a free Heritage Cuisine Dinner at Boggsville for approximately 82 area historical association members and other individuals interested in regional history. The purpose of this dinner was to allow area historical associations to have an opportunity to speak about their activities and to promote membership in their specific organization. The new president of Lamar Community College, John Marrin, spoke of the new Historical Restoration Program to be offered there. In addition, a wonderful speaker from the University of Pennsylvania, Jordan Pickrell, presented an informative program on her historical and archaeological research at Boggsville and Old Las Animas City for her Ph.D. Dissertation.

Prior to the dinner, chapter members enjoyed a tour of the Kit Carson Museum, the new Old Trail Gallery in Las Animas, and the new Rawlings Museum building.

Approximately 47 members and guests attended a tour hosted by the chapter on Saturday, August 23. The tour explored the Granada/Fort Union Military Freight Route between Branson, Colorado, and Folsom, New Mexico. Participants had the opportunity to visit the Mesa de Maya Gallery in Branson, where the tour began. From there, they traveled through Toll Gate Canyon and visited Metcalf's Toll Station, Folsom Falls, and other interesting sites along the trail. At Folsom, par-

ticipants enjoyed a picnic lunch and a tour of the Folsom Museum, after which they visited nearby Capulin Volcano National Park. Lolly Ming and Willard Loudon served as expert tour guides for the day.

The chapter was well represented at the Rendezvous held in Larned in September. October plans included a tour at Bent's Old Fort Fur Traders' Encampment and another tour of a section of the Granada/Fort Union Military Freight Route. The November meeting to be announced, contact <cnhutton@bresnan.net>.

#### **Douglas County**

President John V. Jackson  
1305 N 200 Rd  
Baldwin City KS 66006  
(785) 594-3094

No report.

#### **NEW SFTA MEMBERS**

This list includes new memberships received since the last issue. If there is an error in this information, please send corrections to the editor. We thank you for your support.

#### **BUSINESS MEMBERSHIPS**

Heritage Journey Tours, Laneha Everett, 10754 CR 3.1, Pritchett CO 81064

#### **FAMILY MEMBERSHIPS**

Lynn & Tracy Teeter, PO Box 808, Ulysses KS 67880

#### **INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS**

Richard Beal, 7 Avenida Vista Grande B7-269, Santa Fe NM 87508

Cheryl Fox, 5114 S Kenneth Pl, Tempe AZ 85282

Diane Freburg, 2810 Plaza Rojo, Santa Fe NM 87507

Winston Hile, PO Box 243, Mur-

freesboro AR 71938

David Murrah, 2108 Lakeview Dr, Rockport TX 78372

Michael Round, 13234 Long St, Overland Park KS 66213

#### **TRAIL CALENDAR**

Everyone is invited to send notices for this section; provide location, date, time, and activity. This is a quarterly. The next issue should appear in February, so send information for March and later to arrive by **January 20, 2009**. Other events are listed in articles and chapter reports. Thank you.

**Jan. 18, 2009:** Wet/Dry Routes Chapter, Municipal Building, Kinsley, KS, 1:15 p.m.

**April 18, 2009:** SFTA board meeting, Dodge City, KS.

**Sept. 24-27, 2009:** SFTA Symposium, Arrow Rock, MO.

#### **FROM THE EDITOR**

The Rendezvous was outstanding, and we are pleased that the presentations can be published in *Wagon Tracks*, beginning in this issue.

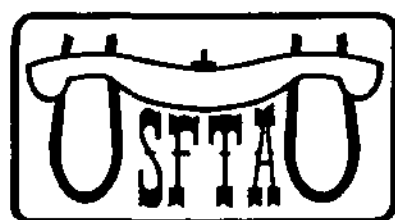
This issue will be the last in 2008, and I wish everyone a happy holiday season with a reminder that annual membership dues end with the calendar year and renewals are welcome any time via mail (form inserted in this issue) or online at <www.santafetrail.org>. Unlike the cost of most things, SFTA dues have not increased for many years and remain a bargain at any price. Timely renewal will save SFTA the cost of renewal reminders.

Happy Trails!

—Leo E. Oliva

**Santa Fe Trail Association**  
**PO Box 31**  
**Woodston, KS 67675**

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